Networking Innovation: The Case of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community

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Abstract

Intercohesive labour or the work of sustaining membership to multiple communities allows access to diverse resources, thereby affording actors the requisite resources for innovation. However, while theoretically advantageous, intercohesion is risky as evaluative criteria determining membership utilised by some communities potentially precludes inclusion to other communities. Here, I provide a microsociological account of intercohesive labour in the context of music genres by deploying an inductive, multimethod research design that explores the interplay between boundary-work, community structure, and network position among members of the Singapore jazz musician community, in the process arguing that innovation is a byproduct of actors navigating intercohesive dissonance at the overlap of communities. To begin, I use qualitative data derived from semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted with respondents (n = 30) sampled from the Singapore jazz musician community and biographical material available online to identify the salient forms of boundary-work utilised by them, initially focusing on ideal-typical adopters of these forms of boundary-work through relating the adoption of these various forms of boundary-work to the community structure of the network. Having identified the evaluative criteria and forms of boundary-work that both divide and unite jazz musicians in Singapore, I proceed to parse a collaboration network (n = 491) consisting of jazz musicians who performed together in Singapore during 2019 to 2020 with the Weighted Clique Percolation Method (CPMw) algorithm. In doing so, I discover four distinct but overlapping social worlds comprised of clusters of detected communities that share various degrees of overlap and are organised according to the genre ideals of their members. Having identified the genre ideals of members of the Singapore jazz musician community and their relation to community structure, I end off by unpacking the intercohesive labour of “hybrid” respondents who straddle multiple communities and, by extension, multiple evaluative criteria at the overlap of communities.

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Contents

Introduction....2
Research Questions....7
Literature Review and Conceptual Approach....12
Overview....12
Innovation Before the “Practical Turn”....15
Innovation After the “Practical Turn”....16
The Work of Recombinant Innovation....21
Bridging and Mediation as Network Mechanisms of Innovation....22
Network Tension and Generative Friction as Network Mechanisms of Innovation: “Forbidden Triad” and Strong, Open Triads....27
Intercohesive Labour in Music Genres and Communities....32
Peer Esteem and Networking Strategies....37
Methodology....46
Network data....47
Data collection....47
Data Analysis....57
Qualitative data....59
Data collection....61
Data Analysis....65
Empirical Chapter 1: The Ideal-Typical Genre Ideals of Jazz Musicians in Singapore: Evaluative Criteria and Networking Styles....68
Introduction and Overview....68
Thematic Similarities and Differences....71
The Purist Genre Ideal: Honesty and Equality....75
Boundaries Drawn: Moral (I)....75
Relationship with Music: Disinterestedness....75
Self-Promotion: Uncomfortable....77
Cross-Genre Collaboration: BAM....81
Exclusivity and Elitism: Natural....84
The Pragmatist Genre Ideal: Value and Prosperity....90
Boundaries Drawn: Socio-Economic....90
Relationship with Music: Business....91
Self-Promotion: Imperative (I)....94
Cross-Genre Collaboration: Self-Distinction....98
Exclusivity and Elitism: Ambivalent....103

The Collectivist Genre Ideal: Selflessness and Egalitarianism.....106
Boundaries Drawn: Moral (II).....106
Relationship with Music: Advocacy.....109
Self-Promotion: Imperative (II).....111
Cross-Genre Collaboration: Cultural Diplomacy.....115
Exclusivity and Elitism: Uncomfortable.....121
The Eclectic Genre Ideal: Singularity and Discovery.....124
Boundaries Drawn: Cultural.....124
Relationship with Music: Curiosity and Discovery.....126
Self-Promotion: Signalling.....129
Cross-Genre Collaboration: Exploratory.....132
Exclusivity and Elitism: Pointless.....138
Empirical Chapter 2: The Topology of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community Explained.....142
Introduction and Overview.....142
Data Preparation.....145
On “Community 1”.....146
The Purist World: Small, Cohesive, Exclusive.....152
The Pragmatist World: Relationships of Prosperity.....160
The Collectivist World: Jazz Evangelists at the Frontline.....168
The Eclectic World: Openness as Closure.....184
Empirical Chapter 3: The Work of Recombination and the Search for Niche 189
Introduction and Overview.....189
Purist-Pragmatists: Honest Entertainers.....195
Purist-Collectivist: Community-Minded Traditionalists.....204
Purist-Eclectic: Poly-Purists.....213
Pragmatist-Collectivist: Civic-Minded Entrepreneurs.....222
Pragmatist-Eclectic: Versatile Professionals.....228
Collectivist-Eclectic: Advocates of Humanity.....235
Discussion of Findings and Conclusion.....243
Robert Glasper and The Limits of Peer Esteem as a Driver of Innovation. 243
Jazz Musician Communities in Other Countries.....247
Pop Music and Networks of Distributed Production.....251
Musicological Categories and Networking Styles: Does Instrument Relate to Genre Ideal Adoption?.....257
Autonomy and Heteronomy in Collaborative Fields.....259
Institutional Isomorphism in Business Innovation.....262

Conclusion.....265
References.....269
Appendix A: Interview Guide.....283
Appendix B: Respondent Information Sheet.....286
Appendix C: Breakdown of Interview Respondents by “Sociological” Attributes 289
Age.....289
Educational Level.....290
Gender.....291
Primary Instrument.....292
Appendix D: List of Communities and their Members in the Condensed Iteration of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community Network.....293
Appendix E: Optimisation Process for CPMw Algorithm.....304
Threshold Tests.....304
Threshold Test Analysis.....307
Appendix F: Eigenvector, Betweenness, and Strength Centrality Scores (Condensed and Global Iterations).....312
Eigenvector Centrality (Condensed Iteration).....312
Betweenness Centrality (Condensed Iteration).....317
Strength Centrality (Condensed Iteration).....323
Eigenvector Centrality (Global Iteration).....328
Betweenness Centrality (Global Iteration).....339
Strength Centrality (Global Iteration).....350

Introduction

"Jazz is dead." (Payton, 2011)

In 2011, Grammy-winning[1] trumpeter Nicholas Payton shocked the jazz world by infamously declaring "jazz is dead" and that people should "let it die" (Payton, 2011) in a cryptic blog post titled *ON WHY JAZZ ISN'T COOL ANYMORE*. His rant bewildered me back in 2011 as a passionate "bright young thing"[2] trying to find my footing as a jazz musician in Singapore. Why would such an esteemed proponent of the music shoot himself in the foot and condemn the genre he is representing like that? Back then, as an aspiring member of the "bebop cult" (Peterson, 1967), I considered his statements to be highly distasteful and not reflective of reality. In my view at the time, jazz was thriving. How could anyone – much less someone who derived status from playing jazz – say such things about a genre of popular music that had grown so much in stature that it could go toe to toe with classical music, the holy grail and epitome of music? I wanted to be angry, but Payton seemed to already be a step ahead when he asked in the same blog post, "why get upset if what I'm saying isn't true?". Statements such as "Jazz is incestuous" and "the masters … were victims of a colonialist mentality" (ibid) were confounding for me and many jazz

[1] Payton won a Grammy award for "Best Improvised Jazz Solo" for his solo on "Stardust" from the album "Doc Cheatham & Nicholas Payton" (Verve Records, 1997).
[2] 2011 was a year after I graduated from the inaugural iteration of what is now known as the *Mosaic Jazz Fellows* mentorship program – a prestigious and gruelling 12-week long program that was initially known as the *Bright Young Things* jazz mentorship program.

musicians all around the world at the time as they were coming from somebody who had made a name for himself as a leading proponent of the genre. Why were jazz musicians angry about a statement that clearly was not true given the vast amount of evidence that jazz music was being taught, studied, and performed more than ever? How can a genre be said to be dead when it seemed like it was so alive? What does it mean when someone says that a genre is dead anyway?

With the added wisdom of twelve years of age and the help of some sociological training, I now interpret his blog post as a rant against the excessive academicisation of jazz music – something that not only Payton but other prominent jazz musicians that came before him such as, perhaps even more infamously, Miles Davis had also been complaining about. Evidently, this is not the first time jazz has "died" (Dodd, 2019). In Payton's view, "formal" jazz being taught in schools and performed in concert halls around the world derived its glory from a "Golden Age" that is now past. In his tirade against the state of jazz, he claimed that jazz died in 1959, a seminal year for the genre which saw the release of Miles Davis' *Kind of Blue* – an album which Payton claims to be "the number one Jazz record" ever released (Payton, 2011) – among other albums whose commercial successes have not since been replicated. Examples of such albums also released in 1959 include Dave Brubeck's *Time Out*, John Coltrane's *Giant Steps*, Ornette Coleman's *The Shape of Jazz to Come*, Art Blakey's *Moanin'*, and Charles Mingus' *Ah Um* – albums which defined the course of jazz sub-

genres such as smooth jazz, free jazz, and hard-bop for the years to come.

As Payton asserts, “Jazz is haunted by its own hungry ghosts” (ibid) and jazz musicians, instead of continuously harking back to and trying to recreate the “Golden Age” of jazz, should instead “let it die” (ibid) and move on from trying to sound and behave like musicians from a bygone era. Payton claims that jazz is dead because it is not looking towards the future but looking towards the past by consecrating and idealising bygone styles and periods of jazz music as is the case with classical music and its “Common Practice Period”[3]. Seen in this light, with his blog post, Payton was reacting against the institutionalisation of jazz music as a fine art to be preserved as opposed to a genre meant for popular entertainment – a trajectory that he felt would lead to the death of the genre in the sense that it would be treated like a “museum piece” rather than a living, breathing, evolving genre. As Payton explains, “I create music for the head and the heart, the beauty and the booty” (ibid). Implicit to this statement is a critique of jazz, which, in his opinion, lost its way when it “separated itself from American popular music” (ibid) and began to undertake the ascension of an arbitrary musical hierarchy helmed by European classical music as its sole mission. In the process of climbing the ladder of musical prestige, he suggests that the genre has sacrificed what it is that has made it unique in favour of adopting the standards of

[3] This period in Western European classical music history was a historical period that spanned roughly three centuries in which stylistic conventions in classical music were standardised and formalised.

evaluation of classical music – a genre that came from another people in another place than where jazz came from. As such, his “jazz is dead” rant can be construed as an attempt to rally jazz musicians together against adopting European evaluative standards to evaluate their own music and to get them to acknowledge that jazz music has its own, uniquely Black and American standards for assessing musical excellence – something that Payton argues the use of “jazz” as a moniker for the music no longer acknowledges.

Payton’s campaign against “jazz necrophilia” (ibid) is thus a form of boundary-work, that is, “conceptual distinctions” that differentiate “us” against “them” (Lamont & Molnár, 2002), against jazz musicians whom he deemed either created music solely “for the beauty” or, conversely, “for the booty”, with the former category referring to musicians who idealise jazz as an “art for art’s sake” and the latter category referring to the other end of the spectrum: Musicians who play jazz solely to earn money with no interest in generating any aesthetic value whatsoever. By positioning himself as a someone who can do both and strives to appeal to both sides, he dissociates himself from both camps while stating his own position as someone occupying the overlap between them, thereby laying bare and promoting his own set of “genre ideals”, or a set of “preferred changes … genre members seek to enact” to a genre (Lena, 2012, p. 16), in his 2011 rant – a rant which has achieved the status as a quasi-manifesto for a new genre. By claiming that jazz was dead, Payton was reacting against what he perceived to be the increasingly dominant genre ideal being

perpetuated in jazz by calling on jazz musicians to abandon the label “jazz” in favour of a new genre of music signified by a new moniker: “Black American Music” (“BAM”) – a genre which, in Payton’s opinion, acknowledges the uniquely African-American roots of not only jazz but also American popular music and adopts evaluative standards that are uniquely African-American as opposed to “colonialist” (Payton, 2011). By urging his peers to abandon “jazz” as a genre label, Payton ostensibly hopes to push his idea of jazz music in a different direction from the direction he perceived it to be heading, that is, in the direction of irrelevance and commercial obscurity – a far cry from the “golden days” of 1959 – by creating a new genre in the form of “BAM” that acknowledges the cultural origins and evaluative standards of Black American people.

Fast forward to 2023, the year in which Payton ironically wins another jazz Grammy for his work on the album *New Standards: Volume 1* as a member of bandleader and drummer Terri Lyne Carrington’s ensemble[4]. Evidently, “jazz” is still in use as the name of the genre category his music is categorised in at the Grammy’s and in institutions all over the world more than a decade on since he initially declared that jazz was dead. Did Payton and company succeed in “de-colonising” jazz? Has the music been rescued from the obscurity brought about by its own successes? Time will tell if Payton succeeded or not. Maybe the genre needed no rescuing to begin with. Perhaps it

[4] Payton explains his involvement in a project that uses the term “jazz” to describe itself by claiming that, “like myself, she’s (Terri Lyne Carrington) strived to use art as a means of breaking down … false constructs, to break down oppressive structures” (Candid Records, 2022)

was not so much that jazz had died as it had merely changed to stand for and sound like something other than what Payton and his ilk approved of and were used to. Perhaps Payton-approved jazz musicians had simply “gone underground” as apostates who have shunned the genre label and opted to live amongst the ranks of other genres. Regardless, jazz has, in spite of itself, evolved since 1959, with its history punctuated by similar instances of jazz musicians reacting against other jazz musicians and their genre ideals by promulgating alternative ideas about how jazz should be enacted, interpreted, and practiced that were associated with new styles and, indeed, new genres of music (DeVeaux, 1991).

How, then, did it evolve and what has it evolved into? Even if jazz’s history may be interpreted as a case of competitive position-taking (Bourdieu, 1983) by jazz musicians one-upping other jazz musicians stylistically through beating them at their own game or introducing new evaluative standards and thereby “changing the game” in their favour, what are the social-structural bases behind the new interventions introduced and adopted by jazz’s epochal figures? How did they conceive of such novel ideas that took the genre in new directions while still maintaining the stylistic integrity that still rendered their music institutionally recognisable and coherent? How does one address the paradoxical demands of upholding tradition while breaking it to create one’s own sound? Where is the *freedom* in jazz if its trajectory was institutionally determined? More broadly, how do people innovate, that is, come up with something new yet recognisable

and coherent, when everything has already been done before? Jazz seemed to me to be a particularly instructive genre with which to confront such questions as a genre that has been constantly "reborn" and has manifested itself in a myriad of ways that cut across traditional classificatory categories[5].

Research Questions

As the guiding research question of this thesis, I ask, "How do genres evolve or emerge?" (Main RQ 1). If innovation is indeed recombinant and requires membership to multiple communities, how does it occur given that the evaluative criteria of multiple communities are exactly what keeps them distinct and cohesive? This question has to do with sociocultural classification schemes (Lena, 2012). Innovation or the creation of new value systems which result in new ways of evaluation and thereby new genres is the result of the process through which producers manage the risks of intercohesion (Stark, 2009; Vedres, 2024; Vedres & Stark, 2010). To introduce a new genre is to introduce a new form of sociocultural classification – cognitive schemes adopted and utilised by actors to distinguish between "good" and "bad", "us" or "them" vis-à-vis tastes in art and people. These sociocultural classification schemes govern the distribution of peer esteem in communities and, as we shall see, are community-contingent. How, then, does innovation occur if to innovate is to

[5] Indeed, Peterson and Kern (1996) did not jazz in their study of American music tastes because "survey data has clearly shown an unusually diffuse evaluation of what is called 'jazz' by different people" (p. 901

straddle multiple community-contingent sociocultural classification schemes?

The research problem of my thesis thus concerns the structural duality of creativity/innovation. Creativity and innovation is risky because on the one hand it accrues potentially higher profits to the innovator but also threatens to alienate innovators from the communities they are a part of (Vedres, 2024). As jazz musicians require access to the community of musicians to continue their involvement as musicians working in a collaborative field, they have to constantly navigate rapidly changing discursive environments. To do so, they have to first find out what the existing genre ideals are and where they can meet in between and, if not, how they can get the personnel they need while not getting too deeply involved with any one group. Innovators or those who perform the “work of recombination” must balance demands of community membership with their own genre ideals as well as demands on self-presentation by multiple communities if they are to maintain their reputation among their peers and thereby the access to personnel required for continued involvement in the community as a performing musician.

Thus, a question I have to answer en route to answering the Main RQ 1 is “What are the existing genres of jazz that exist within the jazz community?” (Main RQ 2). As I adopt an inductive approach and am deploying Lena’s “sociological” conceptualisation of genre as opposed to a “musicological” definition of genre, I cannot pre-define what these

genres are. To answer the question of how innovation occurs with innovation conceptualised here as the result of occupying the overlap – both physical and cognitive – between existing communities of knowledge and practice, we need to first find out what genre ideals of jazz musicians in Singapore are (RQ1). Doing so will allow us to understand why the community structure of the community is the way it is (RQ2) and what is being recombined at the overlap between these communities (RQ3). As such, I start from community detection to search for the effects of the sociocultural classification schemes adopted and enacted by jazz musicians in Singapore.

As such, my first two empirical chapters seek to identify what the existing "camps" are in the Singapore jazz musician community by asking and answering these questions:

1) What are the genre ideals of jazz musicians in Singapore? What sustains this community structure and what keeps these "camps" distinct from each other? (RQ1; Chapter 1)

In this chapter, I use interview and ethnographic data to identify differences among the attitudes jazz musicians in Singapore have towards jazz music, thereby extracting their genre ideals in the process.

2) What is the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community? How is the community partitioned and why is it partitioned that way? (RQ2; Chapter 2)

Having extracted respondents' genre ideals and their respective evaluative criteria, I proceed to apply them to understanding how community structure, that is, boundaries between communities, is sustained in the Singapore jazz musician community.

Finally, having identified and unpacked the "elements of recombination" through identifying the existing genres of jazz enacted in the Singapore jazz musician community (Main RQ 2), I can answer Main RQ 1 by showing how jazz musicians in Singapore perform the "work of recombination" by navigating the dissonance at the overlap. To do so, I ask the third and final research question:

3) How is the "work of recombination performed among jazz musicians in Singapore? What does intercohesive labour look like in the Singapore jazz musician community? (RQ 3; Chapter 3)

I answer this question in my third and final empirical chapter by exploring the "work of recombination as enacted by respondents. To this end, I present 6 "hybrid" genre ideal-types created from the recombinations of the evaluative criteria of the four genre ideals I discovered in the previous chapter. By exploring how jazz musicians perform "intercohesive labour" at the overlap, I provide a microsociological account of how innovation takes place that speaks to existing literature on innovation in the arts and in general. In doing so, I argue that innovation, as with "art" or "artist", is an honorific term that applies differently to different people in different communities.

Reputation affects whether one is evaluated as innovative or crazy. Reputation is built by resonance between self-presentation (“networking style”) and the evaluative criteria utilised when allocating peer esteem. As such, genres evolve and emerge from actors’ needs to balance potentially conflicting evaluative criteria governing the allocation of peer esteem. Thus, through asking these research questions, I explore the lived experiences of those enacting genre evolution and emergence so as to better understand how it occurs and what the work of recombinant innovation actually entails. Doing so affords a better understanding of the relationship between the social environment in which artists and musicians are situated and their creative output.

In the course of this thesis, I take a look at the genre ideals, evaluative criteria, and “networking styles” or forms of boundary-work adopted by jazz musicians in Singapore as they seek to maintain access to personnel while demarcating the boundaries of their networks. Networking styles are constantly negotiated as jazz musicians in Singapore seek to balance the need to maintain access to personnel while also demarcating the limits of their networks. This study thus has to do with how jazz musicians in Singapore navigate the exigencies and vagaries of peer esteem in a collaborative field. Peer esteem is important as jazz musicians require personnel to perform with. As such, this study also has to do with the management of reputation. Maintaining a good reputation is important if one wants to continue one’s involvement in the jazz community as a performing jazz

musician. However, the definition of “good” differs from community to community. The networking styles of musicians are artifacts of evaluative criteria implicit to genre ideals that musicians use to decide who they should collaborate with, thereby governing the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community. In this way, adopted networking style influences the ways in which ties are established in the respective communities in which they are dominant.

Literature Review and Conceptual Approach

Overview

This literature review seeks to consult the literature to discuss conceptualisations of key concepts and to identify areas where I can contribute through my research. In particular, I discuss the conceptualisation and use of the term “innovation” in sociology as well as in the context of cultural production. I begin with discussing conceptualisations of innovation before and after the “practical turn” in the way creativity and innovation has been conceived in the social sciences and humanities. Here, I explain why older, “genius”, “loner”, and “great man narrative” accounts of innovation have given way to newer conceptualisations of innovation as a social, collective process. I conclude that innovation is different from creativity and that what makes it necessarily recombinant is the requirement that “innovation” is coherent enough to be comprehended by existing frameworks of evaluation.

Having clarified the definition of innovation used here, I then proceed to spell out the implications of this conceptualisation of innovation for my research design. Specifically, I discuss how the “work of recombination”, that is, “intercohesive labour”, might look like and what it might involve based on the literature. If the intercohesive

labour requires connecting communities, we must first discuss how communities are connected. To this end, I discuss the two dominant conceptions of intersecting communities in network sociology and explain why I am using structural folds, as well as the implications of using structural folds on my conceptualisation of network diversity. In doing so, I demarcate my contribution to the literature: A microsociological account of individuals performing intercohesive labour as they navigate conflicting evaluative criteria at the overlap of communities.

As my thesis involves a microsociological account of intercohesive labour among jazz musicians in Singapore, I review conceptualisations of innovation in general as well as in the context of music by asking the question, “What does intercohesive labour involve?” and “What is being recombined in recombinant innovation?”. In this thesis, I argue that the “work of recombination” involves boundary-work both *between* and *across* communities. It involves both the creation (network diversity) and spanning (intercohesion) of symbolic boundaries between communities. Actors who wish to “create their own” community also create their own genre, expressed through their recombinant networking style which frames and sometimes encompasses their musical style. The “success” of innovation (creation of new genres) within circles of producers has to do with reputation and peer esteem in each intersecting community as innovation is an honorific label, just as with “art” (Becker, 1982) and, conversely, allegations of “joke theft” (O’Reilly, 2018). As we shall see in my

analysis, intercohesive labour involves cultivating networking styles that allow for actors to maintain comembership to multiple communities.

Finally, I clarify my conceptualisation of genre by distinguishing between “musicological” and “sociological” genre and discuss what “genre evolution” and “genre emergence” means in sociological terms. “Genre evolution and emergence” occurs when something – be it a product, a persona, or a musical style – is produced that introduces a reflexivity in genre communities that makes people question previously taken-for-granted conventions (e.g., interpretation or performance). These herald the emergence of new genre ideals that govern the evaluative criteria with which the worth of people and products is appraised. In short, innovations herald the emergence of new genres.

Thus, I lay bare my “circular” (Hennion, 2015) conceptual approach. The genre ideals (Lena, 2012) of musicians govern the evaluative criteria (Lamont, 1992) they use to decide who to include and exclude in their networks. These evaluative criteria are manifested in distinct networking styles that signal adoption or non-adoption of evaluative criteria. As such, community structure results from differences in evaluative criteria that are signalled through networking styles. Symbolic boundaries (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Molnár, 2002) are cognitive boundaries internalised by actors that are enacted through networking. Through networking, actors signal to others what kind of an actor they are. On the other end, actors identify and

interpret signalling from others to decide which segment or segments of the network they aspire to be a part of and tailor their signalling accordingly. They are then evaluated by members of the various communities that make up the greater community. If they are rejected by or decline to join communities, they can continue involvement in the jazz musician community by creating their own cliques by recruiting the personnel they desire to work with from other parts of the network. A failure to be recruited or to recruit personnel almost certainly spells the end for jazz musicians in Singapore as jazz music is almost never performed alone[6] (Dowd & Pinheiro, 2013). Through this process, actors' networking styles are attenuated as they find their place and are sorted into their eventual, stable network positions as a member of a community or multiple communities depending on what kind of networking strategy they opt for. In this light, peer esteem or trust and reputation among peers is derived from resonance between genre ideals and evaluative criteria of community and networking style. Peer esteem is required to maintain membership to communities to continue the "work of recombination" as "the work of recombination" is as much about creating a new genre as it is about creating a niche and crafting a unique, "complex" (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008) identity that allows musicians to traverse multiple communities.

[6] In any case, jazz musicians who always perform jazz alone cannot be considered part of the jazz musician community in the same way jazz musicians who perform in ensembles can be due to the nature of their connection with other jazz musicians. The former are indirectly related to other jazz musicians as they might encounter each other in passing. The latter, on the other hand, are directly related to other jazz musicians through performing together.

Innovation Before the “Practical Turn”

In this thesis, I define innovation in musical genres as a component of cycles of genre evolution and emergence that culminate in events such as the introduction and popularisation of new styles or conventions. The innovation through which existing genres evolve or new genres emerge occurs when a way of evaluating and doing things that is different from what was previously the norm emerges and is adopted by members of a genre community. This definition differs from an older definition of innovation – a definition in which innovation is the result of individual genius and inspiration. Prior to the “practical turn” in the study of the arts, the history of art and music used to be predominantly understood in terms of “inspired” people who moved their respective genres forward by “bringing something new to the table”, with the study of the arts the exclusive domain of the humanities and not the social sciences such as sociology (Alexander & Bowler, 2014).

Also during this period, analyses of innovation in the arts tended to focus solely on musical and artistic texts from “consecrated” genres, that is, from legitimate music and art, with less “consecrated” forms of music and art not deemed to be under the ambit of scholarly study (Alexander & Bowler, 2014). Back then, analyses of innovation in music generally proceeded through parsing musical and artistic texts in terms of their formal components, that is, rhythm, harmony, timbre, and so on, and crediting certain composers and performers for pushing the

boundaries of musical composition and performance through stylistic innovations discernible in the musical and artistic texts themselves. Mozart, Beethoven, Liszt, and Paganini, for example, were widely considered geniuses because they were deemed to have contributed ideas so radically new yet captivating to classical music in their time, thereby bringing about epochal changes by introducing stylistic innovations credited solely to them or, in some cases including the latter, divinity or the occult. Before the “practical turn”, musical genealogies were charted out by focusing on the musical texts themselves and the contributions of certain composers. This approach to understanding innovation and genre evolution and emergence was shared by other disciplines concerned with the study of aesthetics such as art and literary criticism. The canonisation of certain musicians and artists was justified in terms of their ground-breaking contributions, with the trajectory of (consecrated) genres charted out as a series of innovations introduced and conceived by those so canonised. In other words, back then, musical innovation was not conceived of as a social affair.

Innovation After the “Practical Turn”

However, sociologists and musicologists in the late 1900s began to question this “great men” narrative where the evolution of art and music was basically a progression from one genius to the next. From the 1960s to the late 1980s, a convergence was fomenting in the social sciences and humanities about this notion of innovation. Scholars like

musicologists Leonard B. Meyer (1983) and Lawrence Kramer (1993), network sociologist Harrison C. White (White & White, 1965), organisational sociologist Paul DiMaggio (1982), and cultural sociologist Howard S. Becker (1982) for instance, drew attention to the role of nonmusicians, non-artists, and the social-cultural environment in creating the institutional conditions for certain kinds of art and artists to thrive. Concurrently, sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Richard A. Peterson were applying sociological theory and methods to the study of the arts – a domain previously almost fully closed off from sociological analysis – with the former theorising about the "inverted" value system in the literary field of late 19th century France (Bourdieu, 1983) and the latter proposing the "production of culture perspective" (Peterson, 1976; Peterson & Anand, 2004; Peterson & Berger, 1975), that is, an understanding of the arts as a function of systems of "symbolic production" or the institutionalisation of certain evaluative standards that privilege some art at the expense of others. These scholarly works differed from their predecessors in that they perceived the arts and its workings not as a priori institutions but as socially and, at times, deliberately constructed institutions.

The term "cultural production" was thus coined to refer to studies of art and culture that adopted the then-new idea that music and art were not "autonomous" things to be studied in and of themselves. With the use of this term, music and art began to be analysed as products just like those from any other field such as cars, computers, telephones, and other products that were considered of a different

class from the fine arts – a field hitherto deemed exceptional and "sacred". As such, since the "practical turn", the locus of musical and aesthetic study in general expanded to include not only the musical texts themselves but also the social and cultural contexts in which these texts were produced. Scholarship on music and art expanded to include not only "consecrated" texts as had previously been the case but also all music and art, with the division between fine, highbrow, or serious art and mass, lowbrow, or commercial art blurring and gradually discarded altogether by scholars (Alexander & Bowler, 2014). Through the work of such scholars, the "sanctity" of the arts was breached as they paved the way for the arts to be studied not just by the humanities but also by the social sciences as just another kind of social-cultural phenomenon. Art was no longer "exceptional" (Abbing, 2019, 2022; Alexander & Bowler, 2014), thereby not only rendering the topic of innovation in the arts tenable for study by sociologists but also changing the way musicologists themselves studied innovation.

The challenge of studying innovation in the arts after the "practical turn" was that scholars had to settle on a new way of measuring novelty as nothing new in the old sense of the word could ever be found again – scholars had to settle on a new way of conceptualising innovation not just in the arts but in general. Along with this "practical turn" in sociology and musicology came an updated definition of innovation in the arts and elsewhere: Recombinant Innovation, that is, the idea that everything new is new to the extent that it is a novel recombination of things that already exist. While

nothing is truly new in this concept, what is new is the recombination of resources and elements to create something that is novel and innovative, with innovative also defined as useful and coherent on top of novel (Becker, 2017; Meyer, 1983; Weitzman, 1998). The question, however, remains: What is it that is being recombined and how does this recombination happen? If, as French social philosophers Bruno Latour (2017) and Michel Foucault (1980) have claimed, everything including scientific knowledge itself “comes from somewhere”, where do new things and ideas come from? While it is tempting to settle for the answer that recombinant innovation occurs when components of products are recombined to create new products, as is the case with, say, the supermarket trolley which is the combination of a shopping basket with wheels, or, say, the bebop genre in jazz which some perceive to be a combination of jazz and classical music (Peterson, 1967), recent work by organisational sociologists has problematised this definition of recombinant innovation by showing how it is not enough to reduce a product to the sum of its formal components and then explain recombinant innovation in terms of surveying the components of products and simply combining them as, if that were the case, the question remains as to how innovators even conceived of the idea of recombining these components into a novel and coherent product (Stark, 2009).

What is being recombined in recombinant innovation? Recent scholarship points to the answer being not the material or technical components of innovations themselves. Rather, they posit that the

ideas behind the combination of components are the result of membership to diverse communities that use resources differently. Recombinant innovation cannot happen if innovators cannot envision it in the first place. Envisioning a novel deployment of resources requires thinking about and doing things in a manner different from how others have been thinking about and doing things. Of all the possibilities in the world, why would innovators think about a particular combination of resources from the mass of available possibilities? Conversely, how do innovators even conceive of deployments of resources that their peers have not yet thought of? To answer these questions, it is not enough to look at *what* novel combinations are. Rather, a more pertinent question would pertain to *how* novel combinations have come to be. Recently, both cultural and organisational sociologists have been arguing that it is not enough to look at innovation after it has occurred and then reconstructing the social and institutional factors that contribute to its emergence as if these factors were self-evident to the innovators (Van Venrooij, 2015, p. 104). As American musicologist Leonard B. Meyer argues, “the ‘problems’ posed by works of art are ambiguous … for what we *know* are the solutions … and what we try to do is infer what the problems *might* have been” (Meyer, 1983, p. 534, emphases not mine). In this vein, the challenge is to find a way to understand innovation as it is happening, that is, as a process leading to the invention of novel “solutions” (ibid), if one is to achieve a more realistic, that is, based on empirical observation and not

theoretical speculation, understanding of how new ideas are conceived. To this end, social network theory is instructive.

A working solution to the challenge of studying innovation *in situ* as opposed to after it has occurred has been to conceptualise recombinant innovation as a function of membership and access to multiple, diverse communities. Network sociologists have conceptualised recombinant innovation as a function of actors occupying the liminal spaces between multiple, diverse communities to exploit network diversity en route to innovation and the potential rewards thereof. There is, however, disagreement over how these liminal spaces should be conceptualised and what happens when communities intersect through actors occupying the space between them – disagreements that have conceptual implications that determine the processes and outcomes of entire analyses. These disagreements are encapsulated by the question of whether these liminal spaces between communities should be conceptualised as "structural holes" (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973) or, more recently, "structural folds" (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010). The pathways through which innovation is conceptualised to occur depend heavily on which conceptualisation is used. To choose either side of this debate over how inter-community spaces should be conceptualised concerns what it means to perform the "work of recombination" at the intersection of communities and thereby the way network processes underpin innovation. While there is general agreement that recombinant innovation is a function of actors occupying liminal spaces

between communities, there is disagreement over what happens when communities intersect, with the central point of disagreement being whether actors in between communities are to be conceptualised as non-members or members of the communities they straddle. These disagreements form the basis of disagreements over how recombinant innovation takes place from a social networks standpoint.

The Work of Recombinant Innovation

As the *process* of recombination occurs through people "re-cognising" (Stark, 2009) the usability of resources, that is, using existing resources in novel ways, recombination happens through people doing the "work of recombination". Regarding what this work entails, network sociologists are at an impasse between two ways to broach the topic: brokerage (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973) and intercohesion (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010). The difference between the two conceptual approaches lies in how to conceptualise the actor that is at the intersection of communities and what the network mechanisms enabling innovation are. Are innovators members of the communities whose resources they are drawing from or not? The answer to this pertains to how to conceptualise the intersection of communities, with the stakes being what the "work of recombination" entails.

While scholars of "connected creativity" or "networked innovation" generally agree that innovation is recombinant, they disagree as to how it happens. Scholars agree that network diversity is

a key component of innovation and that innovation is not an automatic outcome of structural diversity, that is, actors are still required exploit network diversity in order for innovation to occur (Vedres, 2024). However, they disagree as to the network mechanisms through which innovation occurs. In the case of brokerage, the network mechanism through which innovation occurs is bridging and mediation between communities. In the case of intercohesion, the network mechanism is network tension (Vedres, 2024). Indeed, “connecting across diversity can provoke the generation of a novel idea … in addition to merely borrowing ideas from elsewhere” (Vedres, 2024, p. 9), as is the case with structural holes and brokerage. Thus, the question remains: Does innovation occur through actors occupying “structural holes” or “structural folds” between diverse communities? The “work of recombination” entails different tasks and risks depending on how innovation is conceptualised.

Bridging and Mediation as Network Mechanisms of Innovation

In the first and older instance (brokerage), innovation happens when actors occupy a network niche – a “structural hole” – that allows them access to diverse pools of knowledge and resources inaccessible to others, thereby allowing them to create things others cannot create (have no access to resources that allow them to create) or have not thought about before (which also means they do not have access to the resources required to come up with the idea in the first place). In

this view, the work of recombination involves seeking out network niches, exploiting them or monopolising them (erecting barriers to entry around them). However, brokerage theory does not answer the question of how novel ideas are generated. Brokerage theory generally assumes that there are no barriers to information access and that all ties may be established and maintained with similar levels of difficulty (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008; Stark, 2009; Vedres, 2024). Brokerage theory does not consider that the most valuable forms of knowledge are difficult to obtain. Even if valuable knowledge is obtained, brokers may not know how to apply said knowledge to create new products that make sense (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008). Only through membership to the multiple communities being bridged can brokers gain enough familiarity with how resources are being used to be able to think of ways of recombining them that make sense. Occupying a network niche only means that brokers enjoy privileged access to diverse sources of information and resources that they can use to establish a monopoly. This does not mean that they have generated anything new and only means that the barriers to entry are too great for others to access the same resources as them. Critics of this perspective argue that without the vision to think of novel combinations of resources, brokerage is less about innovation than it is about the exploitation of non-redundant network positions (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010; Vedres, 2024). Thus, brokerage is less appropriate for our purposes than intercohesion as a theoretical perspective framing the relationship between community and

innovation as brokerage is not about the generation of new products but the monopolisation of (access to) resources including both material resources and information.

Several inter-related problems demonstrate the inadequacy of brokerage as a framework to capture innovation processes. The first problem is the “ideation problem” (Obstfeld, 2005). As information does not flow freely within a network, resources cannot simply be recombined as there are obstacles to combining resources due to the requirement of coherence to an interpretive community. Learning about how resources are used takes time and requires more than simply access to communities – it requires sustained membership (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010). As such, innovation is not the same as creativity (Obstfeld, 2005; Vedres, 2024). Much of the literature on creativity and innovation conflate the two terms (Vedres, 2024). Gaining new knowledge is one thing, applying it to create something new and desirable is a whole other problem (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008, p. 932). As such, the problem with brokerage is that it only accounts for creativity and not innovation as it neglects the “action problem” – the conversion of new knowledge into something coherent and desirable to an interpretive community (Obstfeld, 2005). Brokers “might enjoy an advantage to solve the idea problem, but they can find it challenging to solve the action problem: to mobilize the efforts of others to translate a novel combination of idea elements into a durable product” (Vedres, 2024, p. 6). In fact, this problem was acknowledged also by Burt himself who “found that while brokers were able to

generate novel ideas, there was no evidence that they were successful in implementing those ideas" (Burt, 2004, as cited in Vedres, 2024).

Yet another problem is the "access problem". If structural diversity exists in a network, it is because of forces (such as homophily) that keep the various segments of the network both distinct and cohesive at the same time. What keeps communities distinct and cohesive also prevents access to these diverse communities (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008, p. 938). Cultivating a "complex" identity that will maintain access to multiple, diverse communities – the "identity problem" (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008) is very risky as it might result in loss of access to the multiple communities ('non-entity' problem; Zuckerman et al., 2003) actors straddle. The problem with bridging/mediation is that such theory does not consider the difficulty of maintaining ties to multiple communities simultaneously. The difficulty lies in cultivating an identity that allows them to maintain ties to communities with potentially conflicting evaluative criteria. How does you cultivate an identity that accommodates evaluative criteria that exclude each other? The identity problem thus manifests as such: Cultivating a complex identity defies "prevailing sociocognitive frames" and usually fails, "thereby producing social penalties in the form of lack of attention or outright rejection" (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008, p. 939), leaving would-be brokers alienated from intersecting communities (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008; Vedres, 2024; Zuckerman et al., 2003). Furthermore, members of communities being brokered might eventually find other

routes around brokers to get the resources they need if the network niche is sustained through erecting barriers to entry. If the broker has thought of a niche to exploit, chances are others will have also thought of it, resulting in “bridge decay” (Burt, 2002) occurs between communities as others find ways around the broker to get what they need. After all, members of communities being brokered are less likely to trust the broker as, due to non-membership, the broker is not “one of them” (McPherson et al., 2001). Thus, while arguably useful in explaining the establishment of monopolies, brokerage theory is less suited to explain innovation than intercohesion theory. The structural holes approach does not adequately portray innovation and has more to do with entrepreneurship or finding gaps in social structure from which to profit (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010; Vedres, 2024). While entrepreneurship may involve innovation, the “structural holes” approach does not directly address the mechanisms underpinning the generation of novelty as it also involves processes through which actors create or attempt to create favourable market positions (such as monopolies/oligopolies) and might therefore be better suited to research conducted about those topics.

Finally, in the structural holes approach, membership to communities is assigned arbitrarily as it does not allow for community overlap. Structural folds, on the other hand, is more realistic in that it accounts for the fact that people are always members of multiple communities, whether they like it or not. In the structural holes approach, the community membership of mediators between

communities is not considered. Structural holes approach does not consider the community membership of brokers. Where do brokers belong? They are people too. To extract value from the communities being brokered, brokers must familiarise themselves with those communities. The only way to do so is to become a member of sorts as learning about and investing time and effort into learning about the community already renders one a potential member of it as that time and effort could have been spent fostering ties with other communities. The ability to develop the knowledge required to exploit a gap in the market or industry requires enough access to the community to know what is going on and where the gaps are. Brokers cannot simply come in, take what they want, and leave (see concluding sections of Reagans & Zuckerman 2008; Vedres 2024).

Network Tension and Generative Friction as Network Mechanisms of Innovation: “Forbidden Triad” and Strong, Open Triads

A more suitable framework for conceptualising innovation is intercohesion (Stark, 2009; Vedres, 2024; Vedres & Stark, 2010). With intercohesion, what is being recombined is not just formal-technical components but the “knowledge practices” that lead to the envisioning of particular combinations of formal-technical components. There, the work of recombination is the recombination of existing “knowledge practices” used to create new products through promoting novel recombinations of resources. In this vein, this work involves cultivating

an optimally complex identity with which ego can maintain ties with multiple communities. Maintaining strong ties with multiple communities allows ego to gain enough of a familiarity with the knowledge practices of these communities to be able to recombine them in a coherent manner, that is, a manner that makes sense to audiences and that avoids penalties that come with being “too creative” (Becker, 2017) or “defying socio-cognitive frames” (Zuckerman et al., 2003). As such, the network mechanism with intercohesion has less to do with network “flow” or “connectivity” (“circuitry”) than it has to do with *network tension* (Vedres, 2024). As opposed to with brokerage theory, ego is not an outsider to multiple communities but an insider to them. As such, unlike in brokerage theory, communities are not completely separated, with ego occupying amorphous spaces (“structural holes”) between them. Rather, in intercohesion theory, communities are both distinct and overlapping at the same time as opposed to in brokerage theory, where, to be distinct, communities cannot overlap.

Vedres and Stark (2010) argue that it is not just resources that are being recombined but “knowledge practices”. The recombination of “knowledge practices” leads to new ways of “cognising” resources that then lead to the generation of new products, that is, products that are “new” or “novel” insofar as the recombination of resources is novel in that nobody else thought of it and the recombination of resources is “coherent” enough to be recognised. Vedres (Vedres & Cserpes, 2017; Vedres, 2024) argues that, in contrast to structural holes approaches to

innovation, that “weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) across communities alone do not drive innovation, defined here as not only the generation of new knowledge but the application of that knowledge into the generation of a durable product whose use cases are recognisable to others. To this end, Vedres (Vedres & Cserpes, 2017; Vedres, 2024) identifies the “forbidden triad” (Granovetter, 1973) as a key network structure driving innovation and network tension as a network mechanism enabling innovation. In this view, *both* strong and weak ties (as opposed to only weak ties as formerly theorised in Granovetter, 1973 and Burt, 1992) are necessary for innovation to occur.

Vedres (2024) uses the term “strong open triads” to refer to the network structures in which the “work of recombination” is performed by actors. Weak ties are to access non-redundant information and contrast it among peers. Strong ties are to be able to “rein in” the novelty and attenuate their application (de Vaan et al., 2015). As he explains, “network tension is built by multiple insiders” who can “keep these diverse experiences in contact in a cohesive group to see a novel combination becoming a product” (Vedres, 2024, pp. 7–8). The “forbidden triad” – a triad consisting of two strong ties and one weak tie – a is a feature distinctive to the structural fold. The forbidden triad (strong open triad) is a feature distinctive to the structural fold. Intercohesion happens in forbidden triads. In this sense, the formation of forbidden triads that connect otherwise distinct and cohesive communities is thus the “work of recombination”. Ego is a member of multiple communities and has strong ties with two alters who are not

as well connected to each other as ego is to them. When actors bring together the multiple communities at the overlap, they create weak ties between members of distinct and cohesive communities that otherwise would not exist. This creates an ideal environment for creating novel syntheses that work as network tension is both present and attenuated in a productive manner such that there is just the right amount of network tension and "friction" between the evaluative criteria of the communities at the overlap.

Forbidden triads are a factor explaining success in game development (de Vaan et al., 2015) and jazz albums (Vedres, 2017). In "forbidden triads", ego faces "two otherwise disconnected colleagues with whom she has had long but separate collaborative experiences" and is thus "confronted by two different sets of tacit knowledge" and "two different aspects of her professional identity", with the "cognitive imbalance" stemming from "the intersection of two distinct dyadic histories" (Vedres, 2024, p. 8). The "work of recombination" is hereby conceptualised as requiring those at the structural fold or overlap between communities to navigate and manage the dissonance generated by comembership to multiple communities. In doing so, they start to create forbidden triads that bring together people across communities, thereby kickstarting the process of *intercohesion*. Indeed, De Vaan et al. (2015) discovered a strong correlation between the existence of "forbidden triads" in creative teams and the success of video games while Vedres (2017) discovered a strong correlation between the existence of "forbidden triads" in jazz ensembles

assembled for recording albums and (both creative and commercial) success. In both cases, the presence of forbidden triads explained creative success via striking a fine balance between “familiarity” and “freshness” in creative teams. Success is defined as both novel and distinctive but also “highly regarded” (de Vaan et al., 2015, p. 1145). The weak ties provide enough disruption to generate “freshness”. The strong ties rein in the “freshness”, attenuating and stabilising the end-product.

Valid as they may be, in focusing on the macro- and meso-levels of analysis, these studies do not provide a microsociological account of the mechanisms through which innovation occurs. In opting to identify the presence of and correlation between forbidden triads and creative success at a lower “resolution level”, they do not show the everyday, lived experiences of those occupying positions at the overlap (or those ‘experiencing intercohesion’). While they identify a correlation between the presence of forbidden triads in creative teams and creative success, they do not go further to show *why* the presence of these network structures drive creative success and innovation short of providing and confirming hypotheses based on macro- and meso-level analyses. On top of that, they also do not explain how the interaction between “group styles” (De Vaan et al., 2015) occurs at the individual level. In short, they only go so far as to show what the relationship between network structure and innovation is but do not go further to explore what kind of work is involved on the ground in making it happen.

This is where my contribution lies. By showing how the “work of recombination” is carried out and experienced by those at the overlap, I contribute to this strand of literature by moving beyond large-scale sociograms to show how intercohesion happens *in practice*, thereby holding a mirror to network theories of innovation and filling in the gap between theory and practice in network studies of innovation by bringing together network-analytic and cultural sociology tools to better understand *how* innovation works. Identifying the structures contributing to innovation is not enough. We need to go beyond that to see how these structures are created and sustained, how they contribute to innovation in real life, and what the “work of recombination” actually entails among those that both enact and experience it. Innovation does not happen automatically with the presence of structural diversity, structural folding, and forbidden triads in networks. Rather, it happens through real people performing the “work of recombination”. The case of the Singapore jazz musician community brings innovation theory to bear on the lived experiences of those that constitute it. Through looking at how Singapore jazz musicians navigate the paradoxical tension between structural diversity and community membership, we can get a better idea of what the “work of recombination” actually entails, what it means to innovate, and what the process of innovation feels like.

My findings thus speak to intercohesion theory by highlighting the experience of those doing the work of intercohesion, thereby identifying factors that contribute to innovation and, by extension,

genre evolution and emergence. As such, as with De Vaan et al. (2015), I am also looking at where “group styles come from” and “what happens when groups with different cultural styles interact”. In doing so, I, too, contribute to a strand of sociological work that “can be equally well described as bringing the analytic tools of network modelling onto the terrain of cultural sociology or as bringing the analytic tools of cultural sociology onto the terrain of network analysis” in developing and conducting “a *cultural network analysis* equally attentive to cultural-cognitive structures as to group structures” (de Vaan et al., 2015, p. 1146). However, before carrying on, we still need to understand what “group styles” and the work of recombining them means in the context of a musical community.

Intercohesive Labour in Music Genres and Communities

Now that we have discussed our conceptualisation of innovation, I continue to discuss what it means to occupy the overlap and engage in intercohesion (what the “work of recombination” entails) in the context of music communities. Indeed, in the context of music communities, “innovation” generally refers to genre evolution/emergence (De Vaan, 2014). But what is a genre? To define genre, I look to the work of Lena (2012, 2016). Lena’s “relational model of taste” “provides an ideal framework for producing inductive categories in almost any social setting” (Lena, 2016, p. 157). I explain in this section why I am adopting a sociological definition of genre and

what it means to occupy the overlap between “sociological genres” in terms of networking style, musical style, and in terms of network position (between communities). This discussion clarifies what the work of intercohesion means in the context of my thesis. The stakes pertaining to my conceptualisation of genre are how I conceptualise community and thereby my sampling approach. Traditionally speaking, a genre is a heuristic used to categorise stylistic patterns in the way art or music is enacted (i.e., produced, consumed, distributed, etc.). In the context of music, genre can be conceptualised “musicologically” or “sociologically” (Lena, 2012, 2016). In this thesis, taking a page from Lena (2012, 2016) and Perrenoud and Bataille (2024), I distinguish between “musicological” and “sociological” genre, introducing “networking style” as a concept that takes into account both the “musical style” and style of boundary-work or “networking style” actors adopt.

Musicological genre and its corresponding communities are defined by “musical styles” or the use of “idioms” and conventions. “Musicological genre” is thus a shorthand to refer to definitions of genre that do not consider non-musical factors. In analyses that adopt such a definition, musical text is usually the primary unit of analysis. This has been the approach used in the “loner model” or “great man” narratives of music history in which music history and the trajectory of a genre moves continuously from one period to another as a result of canonical innovators and their novel contributions to the genre (usually observed and analysed in terms of deviations from the status quo at

the time). In this approach, “genres are generally treated as natural objects” that are “based on the sorting of ‘intrinsic’ or ‘objective’ attributes like beats-per-minute” (Lena, 2016, p. 149). Defining community along such lines necessitates classifying members of communities according to patterns observable in the musical text they produce. Research adopting musicological conceptualisations of genre have reached conclusions of questionable validity due to their incongruence across time and space (ibid).

Sociological genre, however, defines genre and its corresponding community through community attributes and resources (“genre forms”; Lena, 2012) *on top of* the use of stylistic elements such as musical idioms and performance conventions. With a sociological conceptualisation of genre, genre is identified more inductively. Adopting a sociological definition of genre necessitates looking at community structures first before then identifying musical and non-musical attributes shared or not shared between members of communities. As Lena (2016) puts it, “sociological genres are community structures characterized by shared musical activity, not musical performances that share musicological characteristics” (Lena, 2016, p. 150). In this definition, musical and aesthetic attributes are but one of the factors defining sociological genre. Sociological genre is a broader way of defining genre than the musicological definition of genre. In this definition, a “genre exists when there is some consensus that a distinctive style of music is being performed” (Lena, 2012, p. 6) among peers and audiences. Lena (2012) defines “musical genres as

systems of orientations, expectations, and conventions that bind together industry, performers, critics, and fans in making what they identify as a distinctive sort of music" (p. 6). Such a definition, as opposed to the musicological definition, allows for the identification of genres that are not named yet but are still enacted by people.

Thus, the reason I do not adopt a strictly musicological definition of genre are that musicological definitions are not stable enough to be valid across time and space (Lena, 2016). Again, quoting Lena (2016), "treating genres and the boundaries around them as natural and inevitable effaces their core sociological attributes by portraying something constituted through dynamic relations as something objective and extra-social" (p. 150). A musicological definition of genre runs the risk of "collapsing" "a complex, shifting social world full of debate and disagreement into an inevitable chain of events leading to the present, during which necessary transformations take place" (Lena, 2012, p. 146). This occurs when the causes of genre evolution and emergence are credited to musical texts – a "circular" argument that justifies itself (Hennion, 2015). Using the musicological definition of genre is even more untenable when considered in view of how there seems to be very little agreement among what musicologically constitutes "jazz" (Peterson & Kern, 1996). As the focus of my thesis is on the relationship between structural diversity among enactors of a genre and innovation, indeed, on the very debates and disagreements that take place in the name of genre that are obscured by "natural" definitions of genre that foreground textual causality above all else,

such a musicological definition of genre is not useful. The goal is not to obscure difference but to observe it.

Indeed, Lahire (2008) cautions against the use of pre-determined categories when conducting research as pre-determining the categories beforehand runs the risk of pre-determining the results. As musicologist Benjamin Piekut puts it when justifying his use of Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 2007) – an inductive, relational methodology that does not take musical categories for granted – prematurely determining the conceptual categories whose boundaries are to be examined potentially runs the risk of conflating "explananda" or "what is to be explained" for "explanantia" or "that which explains" (Piekut, 2014, p. 193). As such, adopting an inductive, relational approach to genre necessitates not pre-defining the "sociocultural classification schemes" (Lena, 2012) that determine how actors draw "symbolic boundaries" among each other. Thus, I avoid using *both* musicological (i.e., stratifying the jazz community along the lines of predetermined musicological categories in the form of sub-genres such as smooth jazz, fusion, bebop, hard-bop) *and* sociological categories (i.e., those used in demographic studies like gender, ethnicity, and class), instead opting to observe the effects of the various sociocultural classification schemes at work in the Singapore jazz musician community as a starting point of analysis, with the "effects" of these classification schemes observable in the configurations the Singapore jazz musician network takes. Not pre-defining categories not only brings us closer to emic experiences of genre in different groups – that is, *multiple* forms

of genre – and thus understand how genre is experienced and enacted differently from group to group, even within the context of one single genre community. As the focus is on the production and evolution of sociocultural classification schemes, it would be counter-productive to use a musicological definition of genre.

As different communities produce and correspond to different genres, so do genre ideals and evaluative criteria differ from community to community. These differences require musicians at the overlap to cultivate dispositions that allow them to glean peer esteem in whichever community they wish to draw resources from. These dispositions are observable in their networking style and the way they interact with others musically and socially. These dispositions, once cultivated, are durable and potentially prevent access to other communities with different evaluative criteria for peer esteem. Jazz musicians, in order to participate as a jazz musician, would have to be able to garner enough peer esteem to be able to perform with others. Thus, all jazz musicians must seek peer esteem. The problem, however, is that peer esteem differs from community to community. Musicians thus face a dilemma: How much should they embed themselves in one community and how thin should they spread themselves across communities? This question has to do with managing risk – the risk of engaging a community with plural evaluative criteria that are only known upon involvement (Benhamou, 2003).

Peer Esteem and Networking Strategies

From the discussion so far, the work of innovation has to do with navigating expectations on identity by various groups. “Successfully” managing identity across groups will allow for sustained comembership and therefore higher chances of finding “novel syntheses” of knowledge and practice that translate into innovation. In the context of jazz musicians looking to continue their involvement in the community *qua* jazz musicians or performers, peer esteem is what is at stake. Peer esteem is important for jazz musicians as they constantly need to perform with each other. Indeed, “connections with other musicians and the local jazz community, and personal reputation within that community, are critical both for the individual musician and the music arising” (McAndrew & Widdop, 2014, p. 4). Jazz musicians must gain peer esteem one way or another. But in an environment where there are different forms of peer esteem, how should one present oneself? This question has to do with the management of risk: Should ego typecast (embed in one community) or not? This question has to do with whether to take a potentially less risky but less rewarding networking strategy (“redundant”/”simple”/”specialist” identity) or a potentially riskier but more rewarding strategy (“non-redundant”/”complex”/”generalist”) (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008). Which community’s or communities’ evaluative criteria should ego subscribe to and thereby invest time and effort into cultivating a networking style that resonates with these criteria given that peer

esteem is necessary for jazz musicians to continue their involvement in the Singapore jazz community *qua* jazz musicians? Becoming socialised as a member of one community potentially comes at the expense of becoming a member of another community due to conflicting criteria for inclusion/exclusion and thereby peer esteem.

As with internet workers studied in Neff (2012), my four genre ideals flesh out the various salient ways jazz musicians deal with the issue of deciding how to portray oneself and what kind of dispositions they should cultivate in an uncertain environment – it is difficult to ascertain which evaluative criteria is in play at what point of time and the "institutional terrain" changes quickly. Just as with the employees of startups in Silicon Alley during the dot-com boom of the late 1990s, jazz musicians in Singapore, as mostly small-scale cultural producers, are part of a class of labour for whom innovation – the generation of "a constant stream of unique (if often similar) products with severely limited life spans" (DiMaggio, 1977, p. 441) – is not a luxury but a requirement for continued participation in the community (DiMaggio, 1977). The four genre ideals I discovered are the more or less stable (at the time of sampling) results of the interplay between the jazz musicians, the Singapore jazz musician community, and jazz discourse. As such, they represent the more or less institutionalised (at least in the context of the Singapore jazz musician environment) "group styles" (de Vaan et al., 2015) observable in the Singapore jazz musician community. These "group styles" correspond to evaluative criteria utilised by the respective communities that, for reasons unique to each

community, both produce and adopt these styles. Thus, these four types also represent the ideal-typical networking strategies utilised by jazz musicians in Singapore to glean peer esteem.

As in Neff (2012), these narratives give jazz musicians a sense of direction and purpose with which they evaluate courses of action in their careers, thereby providing them with the parameters with which they can navigate an otherwise chaotic and uncertain social environment in which the expectations on them are not clear. These narratives guide their decisions concerning how best to present themselves and who they should associate with through who they play and hang out with – or, in other words, who they "network" with and eventually end up including or excluding in their social networks, especially given the constraint of time as they cannot play with everybody all the time. "Group styles" are artifacts of the evaluative criteria of the group and are generated to gain peer esteem (and therefore performance ties) with members of the group. These styles – what I call "networking styles" as I use the term to refer to styles of self-presentation common to jazz musicians within a group – are generated and stabilised over time. Eventually, a stable "group style" manifests among a group of people. Those whose self-presentation practices fit the "group style" of a group are inducted into the group as a member (and are thereby able to draw resources from it). Members have access to the resources shared among the group. These resources include personnel to perform with and tacit knowledge/information that members can parse.

However, to learn about and adopt the “group style”, one must spend a considerable amount of time and effort to be socialised by the group. Socialisation creates inertia in the sense that socialisation in one group creates delible marks – a durable set of attributes that bely the “socially constituted dispositions” (Bourdieu, 1984) of their bearer. Once dispositions are gained, it is hard to change. As such, how should jazz musicians invest their time and effort? What dispositions should they cultivate and which community/communities should they associate themselves with? In short, what kind of networking strategy should they adopt and why? Everyone has a different reason for this but these reasons can be classified into the four types I discovered. Indeed, not everybody has a large appetite for risk and thus not everybody wishes to be labelled as “innovative”. Those at the overlap (by choice or not) are thus faced with the perplexing situation of how to present themselves in such a way that allows them to maintain ties with the multiple communities whose intersection they occupy. This is the “identity” and “access” problem talked about earlier. The work of recombination – “intercohesive labour” – thus has to do with managing identity and is about how people develop complex, “multi-vocal” identities that allow for sustained comembership to multiple communities. This work occurs *internally* within those at the overlap. As Lahire (2003, 2008) argues, everybody occupies some kind of overlap and therefore experiences some kind of dissonance every day. But only certain people and their output are labelled “innovative”. Following the definition of innovation and community I have laid out

thus far in this literature review, I conceptualise dissonance here as a result of comembership to multiple, “cognitively diverse” (de Vaan et al., 2015) communities. Dissonance is universal. As such, the work of recombination is performed every day and is a vital factor contributing to *both* societal cohesion *and* sustainability in the long run. Reagans & Zuckerman (2008) even suggest that the dissonance of comembership to multiple communities is a precursor to *individuality*.

In this thesis, I am isolating certain factors from an otherwise vast and chaotic social-cultural environment that contribute to *innovation as understood from the perspective of actors* (the “emic” perspective). I am looking at peer esteem among a group of people who need it to be able to continue their involvement in the genre community as practitioners/producers. These people want to continue involvement in the jazz community as musicians to varying extents. In the process of navigating various criteria for peer esteem, new forms of peer esteem (new “evaluative criteria”) are generated from the “network tension” that inadvertently results from being in an environment with plural and ambiguous evaluative criteria (i.e., at the structural fold). Primarily, I argue that innovation has to do with the cultivation of complex identities that allow ego to continue being a member of multiple communities. This entails tailoring self-presentation practices and justifications for adopting these “networking styles” based on information derived from “encounters” (Bourdieu, 1990) – from everyday interaction and from performing together with people in different settings (or “gaining experience” in short).

In the context of music, these considerations may also involve the way music itself is performed, over and above the way actors present themselves. Lena (2012) accounts these self-presentation attributes in her table on genre forms (argot, drugs, fashion, etc.). She neglects to discuss musical styles, though, as that is not the focus or goal of her project. Her goal was to provide a perspective to genre evolution and emergence that is an alternative to prevailing perspectives that were grappling with the use of sociological theory and methods in conjunction with musicological definitions of genre. Coming up with a novel "group style" is the process through which actors attempt to surmount symbolic boundaries between communities and generate novel syntheses of their viewpoints in ways that make sense to the various communities whose intersection they occupy. Coming up with a new "group style" or "networking style" is thus "analogous" to coming up with a new "musical style". New group styles, networking styles, and musical styles are artifacts of new genres. All these things are byproducts the cultivation of "complex identity" and the self-presentation strategy of actors. Thus, the "work of recombination" concerns constantly "testing the waters" of the evaluative criteria of the multiple communities whose overlap ego occupies. "Success" or the generation of a "new formula" for deriving peer esteem from multiple communities results in the labelling of someone or someone's products as "innovative". A new group style is a product of a new musical style and vice versa as they are all parts of a bigger process – the process of learning how to best manage the

dissonance of intercohesion (“intercohesive dissonance”). The process of managing “Intercohesive dissonance” is the process that I am exploring in my thesis: The process of navigating the *dissonance* generated from the interaction between “different sets of tacit knowledge” and “two different aspects of … professional identity” (Vedres, 2024, p. 8).

Vedres (2024) concludes in his piece that network diversity is a necessary but insufficient condition for innovation to occur. What is required is the “work of recombination” that either knits together otherwise fragmented segments of a network or creates a new network/community distinct from its constituent parts. If the fragmented segments of the network do not interact, there is no conflict (“network tension”) but there is also no innovation. In such a case, “subsets of members become segregated into homogeneous groups that are not exposed to one another.” (Vedres, 2024, p. 9). As Vedres argues, “if diverse experiences are not connected by network ties, team members can easily overlook them, as no one would be in a special position to bring diverse experiences together” (Vedres, 2024, p. 9). If we apply this insight to a community of musicians oriented towards creating jazz in Singapore, network diversity does not translate into innovation if nobody does the “work of recombination” by producing “networking styles” that appeal to otherwise fragmented segments of the jazz musician network.

The Singapore jazz musician community is a perfect place to explore the “work of recombination” as there are inevitably musicians who cross boundaries *by default* due to the scarcity of musicians who can play jazz and venues that host jazz performances. The Singapore jazz network is a great place to explore the work of recombination as it is very dense as 1) jazz musicians have to play with each other to continue involvement as jazz musicians in the community and 2) there are limited personnel and limited venues so the chances of people interacting are higher compared to other networks that might remain fragmented and make observations of “intercohesion” less salient. Thus, my thesis explores the lived experiences of those doing the work of recombination. The “work of recombination” involves learning about multiple communities’ evaluative criteria as they govern the agreed upon conventions (Becker, 1982) within a community through which artworks are produced and navigating them in a manner acceptable to the multiple communities at the overlap, with the stakes being continued membership to the communities at the overlap in the form of being able to draw upon personnel from those communities. Intercohesive labour involves navigating the dissonance generated by trying to appease diverse evaluative criteria and bring together distinct identities.

Thus, from the literature, I conceptualise “intercohesive labour” as the work of establishing trust and enough of a reputation through cultivating an identity that allows ego to be able to maintain a deep enough membership to the multiple communities whose overlap ego

occupies. Intercohesive labour involves maintaining membership to these separate and distinct communities long enough to be able to familiarise oneself with their "knowledge practices" (Stark, 2009) to be able to see where "novel syntheses" (Vedres, 2024) can be made between otherwise distinct ways of interpreting and doing things. Intercohesive labour, however, is difficult and tricky because the evaluative criteria and community ideals of the multiple communities at the overlap might be at odds with each other. Yet, it is precisely because they are at odds with each other that these communities are distinct and it is exactly the fact that it is difficult and tricky that makes the "work of recombination" worthwhile as the rewards for doing it (i.e., pursuing a "non-redundant" networking strategy) are potentially great. Rewards include singular (only held by ego who is then in a broker-like position to be able to access personnel and interpret tacit knowledge from multiple communities) membership to multiple, diverse communities stemming from holding a rare network position. Another potential reward is also artistic autonomy, here defined as the potential to create a (short-term) monopoly by creating a new evaluative criteria through which one can be judged by one's own terms (i.e., creating a new "genre" replete with its own evaluative criteria, genre ideals, and interpretive community from the recombination of the knowledge practices of the previous two).

Innovation is community-contingent, with "innovative", just as "artistic" (Becker, 1982), an honorific label accorded to something that is perceived as not only novel but also coherent, with coherent

meaning “able to satisfy evaluative criteria of multiple communities”. Thus, what “works” needs to be able to clean peer esteem from multiple communities. In this way, artists are more likely to be labelled as “innovative” if 1) their contributions are deemed novel by multiple communities and 2) if they can successfully navigate the evaluative criteria of multiple communities. In the end, achieving “novel syntheses” of knowledge practices between communities produce ways of networking and self-presentation that “work”, with “work” defined as being acceptable to members of the multiple communities whose overlap ego occupies, is the goal. In this way, new genres are created with new networking styles artifacts thereof. With these new genres come new communities with new evaluative criteria derived from the synthesis between its components. Each “successful” “innovation” is a new recipe/formula for gaining peer esteem (good reputation) across the multiple communities at the overlap in the context of my thesis. If the scale of the research is the entire genre community (including other producers, distributors, and consumers, then it can be redefined as a “recipe for gaining a new reputation across genre communities”, although it is much more complex than what I have covered here as there are many more factors at play). Still, the mechanism of network tension to unpack innovation may be applied at a larger scale.

Methodology

The goals of my methods are to understand differences between the genre ideals of jazz musicians in Singapore, to observe the network effects of the networking styles engendered by adoption of genre ideals on the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community, and to understand how jazz musicians in Singapore occupying overlaps have been navigating them. The reason I chose jazz is that the development and presence of multiple genre forms is well-documented for jazz (DeVeaux, 1991; Lopes, 2002) – a now-globally established genre with a unique presence in almost every country in the world[7]. The reason I chose Singapore is that it is a dense area where "ecological separation" of musicians is not possible due to the small size of Singapore and scarcity of venues to perform at. As boundary-work cannot occur geographically, Singapore is an ideal site for exploring the enactment of cognitive schemes in networks as forms of boundary-work are more salient in Singapore than in other, larger countries. Due to its small and dense nature, Singapore is ideal for studying both boundary-work and boundary-spanning. This tension between community belonging and community-spanning is a key tension I want to capture in my research.

I began data collection by collecting network data, constructing and parsing the network before collecting qualitative data to help me

[7] International Jazz Day was celebrated in more than 190 countries around the world in 2024 (UNESCO, 2024).

understand the network. Prior to beginning my network sampling and throughout the sampling period (2019 to 2020) until Covid-19 restrictions came into force in March 2020, I was conducting fieldwork as a participant observer. My approach to data collection consisted of three phases beginning with preliminary fieldwork to (re-)familiarise myself with the community[8] and source for jazz venues from which I could begin my network sampling. Having identified the *Esplanade* (they have a festival every year called *Jazz In July* where they programme jazz music every day of July), *Maduro*, *Blujaz Café*, and *Cool Cats* as jazz or jazz-affiliated venues, I began sampling performance ties between musicians based on listings these venues posted regarding who was playing with who. From this snowball, I then went on to explore the publicly available social media pages of musicians for more listings. Having constructed most of the network by May 2020[9], I began sampling for interview respondents.

[8] The project was initially planned as a "network ethnography" (Howard, 2002) before Covid-19 hit. I am a drummer and have been an active member of the Singapore jazz musician community since 2010. By the time I returned to Singapore to conduct fieldwork, I had been away for almost 4 years and thus had to reacquaint myself with the scene and community as the venues available and the jazz musicians actively playing were different than from when I left Singapore for Europe in 2016.

[9] There were a lot less performances occurring during that time, with the few that were going on only occurring online in the form of livestreams. I was thus certain that I had already sampled at least 80% of jazz performances.

Network data

Data collection

Sampling (Networks)

The nodes are jazz musicians themselves and were sampled from publicly available links (websites and social media) about jazz events occurring from 2019 – 2020. The edges between them consist of comembership in jazz bands observed in publicly available social media posts or event listings. Here, I made the decision to include online performances and collaborations for YouTube videos as social media posts and photos document instances in which musicians appear together publicly (albeit virtually) to perform music. Although it is impossible to measure differences in the relative significance of various performances as tests of reputation, if someone performs with the same people for more than three times within a year, they share at least a minimum level of trust among each other – trust that performing with these people will not result in an outright bad performance by the standards of all of them involved. During an online performance musicians work together too, albeit in an environment mediated by digital technologies.

I use performance ties as edges as performances are tests of reputation. At each performance, reputation is tested. Regardless of evaluative criteria, musicians would not willingly perform with others that they feel will not get the job done in a way that they can, at the

very least, accept. I use frequency of performing together in bands as a score for the “intensity” of performance ties. Musicians performing together more often means that these musicians trust each other to get the job done and/or do not hate each other enough to not want to play with each other. A higher score means they are more familiar with each others’ styles as they share an accumulated history of working together, meaning they are more attuned to each others’ genre ideals as their ideals govern how they work, that is, what kind of conventions they choose to follow. Thus, a higher weight score between musicians increases the likelihood that they will be clustered into the same community. As Duranti (2010) put it, the more jazz musicians perform together, the more musicians become attuned to what each other would do in the various musical situations they collectively come across during performance, thereby resulting in a performance dynamic in which musicians collectively work towards or within the constraints of performance ideals they have come to mutually understand through performing and working together frequently. The process through which musicians attain “intersubjective attunement” (Duranti, 2010) with each other is the process of *networking* in which musicians are sorted and sort other musicians into “us” or “them”. Similarly, a higher degree of adherence a genre ideal potentially means the higher the chance of being excluded by other communities. Thus, although the reason behind tie strength differs between communities, frequency of comembership at jazz performances is a good measure of peer esteem between musicians as it is proof that jazz musicians are

“intersubjectively attuned” enough to want to continue performing together.

Boundaries of the Jazz Network

I manually constructed the network from publicly available online data gathered from websites and social media, that is, Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram, detailing jazz music performances occurring both digitally such as in online collaborations in livestreams and video recordings and physically at jazz clubs, concert halls, and events. The nodes of my network consist of jazz musicians. Ties between them consist of instances in which they performed together in the same band at the same event. I opted to use undirected ties as it was not clear from the sampling process and publicly available online data who was working for who or who was providing the performance opportunity for whom. Directed ties are more suited for analysing gatekeeping – something that is beyond the scope of this project. The more times they performed together, the higher the weighted score of their ties. I opted for weighted ties as unweighted ties do not allow me to discriminate between strong or weak ties between musicians, thereby removing the possibility of finding hidden clusters of musicians. Indeed, an entire “world” consisting of musicians who only shared strong ties with each other was discovered hidden among weighted ties between musicians, that is, they were only discoverable only when the cohesion threshold required for a clique to be included

into the clique percolation process[10], was raised. Using unweighted ties would not have allowed me to discover such a cluster.

I did not predefine “jazz” from a formal viewpoint as I was seeking to understand how these musicians defined jazz and explore how differences in their ideas about jazz related to community structure. In the absence of a formal definition of “jazz”, my sampling process thus occurred iteratively, beginning with the programmes of the three jazz clubs that were operating in Singapore during the time I began sampling in October 2019, namely *Maduro*, *Blujaz*, and *Cool Cats*, and the programme for *Jazz In July*, the annual jazz festival held at Singapore’s premier performing arts space, the *Esplanade*. To begin the sampling process, I looked through their websites for listings of performances that detailed who played with who. I then expanded this initial sample of jazz musicians to include listings in Singapore that included the word “jazz” in their event descriptions from all other music venues I could find online. After this step, I searched the websites and publicly available social media accounts of the jazz musicians already sampled for even more jazz events or details about jazz events in clubs or other venues that I might have missed. I then continued to follow these websites and social media accounts,

[10] Appendix E contains a full report on the optimisation process. Before the CPMw can be run, it has to be optimised for the network it will be used on. The optimisation process requires finding optimal k and I values, with k referring to the minimum clique size used in clustering and I referring to the minimum level of cohesion required among members of a clique for inclusion into the clique percolation process. Thus, although they act differently on the network, both k and I can be used as cohesion thresholds. After determining the optimal levels of k and I, the value of k can be raised to conduct the network analysis at different “resolution levels” (Csárdi et al., 2016, pp. 103–104) to search for hidden communities, that is, communities only visible when the minimum clique size is raised. The level of I, however, should remain constant throughout the analysis for control.

updating them monthly to include new performance listings. I repeated this sampling process until the end of 2020 where I did a final round of inspection to check if I missed anything.

Owing to how many jazz musicians do not like to refer to themselves as jazz musicians and label their performances as jazz performances and the lack of a clear definition about what differentiates a jazz performance from a non-jazz performance, I included an extra step in my sampling process that allowed for the possibility of including jazz performances that did not have the word “jazz” in their description or were not labelled as “jazz” performances by anyone. The reason for this is that during the course of sampling and doing some preliminary groundwork, I found that there were many jazz musicians who opted to not describe themselves or their performances as jazz musicians or jazz performances, preferring instead to simply use the term “musician” to describe themselves or “Black American Music” to describe what they play. For instance, a jam session attended by musicians only playing jazz standards may not even be labelled as a jazz jam session by these people, with the session’s “jazzy” nature concealed behind cryptic monikers such as “JAMBAM”, with the last three characters of this an acronym for the term “Black American Music” – a signal that the organisers of this jam session were aligned with the jazz politics of Nicholas Payton and company. Including such performances allowed me to obtain a more complete picture of the jazz musician community in Singapore than if I had merely sampled performances explicitly described as “jazz

performances”. Indeed, as will be seen later on in my second empirical chapter, one of the indicators that jazz musicians were adopting a certain “networking style” was precisely an aversion to using the label “jazz” to describe themselves and their performances. If I were to only sample those who used the word “jazz” freely, I would have missed on this elusive group who clearly had issues with the use of the term “jazz” as a genre label and varied from other communities in terms of their “genre Ideals” as they had a different idea about how jazz as a genre should move forward compared to others who had no issues with using the term “jazz” as a genre label. In short, I wanted to keep my sampling as open as possible and thus, instead of defining the boundaries of the network negatively or from the point of view of formal jazz or sociological theory, opted to define them “positively” or “from within”.

As such, I list the complete criteria for sampling inclusion here. Upon discovering new “jazz musicians”, I would repeat the entire process starting with the newly discovered “jazz musicians” as the seeds, that is, I record down all the gigs publicly listed on their websites or social media accounts and expand my sample accordingly. I repeated this process to the point of saturation, that is, I do not find any new events or new jazz musicians. When deciding which events to include in the network, this was my sampling criteria. Any events that did not meet any of these criteria were excluded. When in doubt, I included the events in my list, only excluding the events after all sampling was completed.

Sampling Guidelines

1) “Jazz” used in description of event or band.
    a. If “jazz” is not used to describe the event or band at the event, it is still included in the sample if it is listed on the page or website of a sampled jazz musician that performed at the event. This means that events that were previously excluded may be included should I come across them in later rounds of sampling having discovered more “jazz musicians”.
2) “Jazz musician” posts event on his/her website.
    a. “Jazz musicians” are defined as those who have either labelled themselves as jazz musicians or those who have been sampled three or more times in performances already sampled, that is, those who have a “strength centrality” of 3 and above.
    b. While not all these performances are labelled as jazz performances, I still include those not labelled as jazz performances for consideration before the final exclusion step if a jazz musician includes them.
3) At least half the band listed consists of “jazz musicians”.
    a. In the case of events that are not described as “jazz” events and are not listed on the websites of “jazz musicians”, I include these events if at least half the band consists of “jazz musicians”, that is, personnel who have already been sampled 3 or more times.

b. Participation in a duo (n = 2) performance does not count towards the minimum threshold for inclusion as a “jazz musician” as it would result in the inclusion of too many isolates.

4) Multiple occurrences of the same group on different dates are sampled as multiple performances even if listed on the same Facebook event page.
    a. For instance, if a Facebook event states that a trio is going to play every week for twelve weeks, the three members of this trio would have a weighted tie score of 12 between each other.
    b. If changes to the line-up in the series of events are discovered in the course of data collection from, for instance, public posts on the websites of other musicians, the weighted tie score is adjusted accordingly.
5) In the absence of data on personnel, event photos are used to identify them if they are available.
    a. Many events only post the leader’s name without detailing who else is playing.
    b. If personnel data is not explicitly available in text online, I use event photos publicly shared by musicians or event organisers to identify who played with who at the event.
    c. If I do not recognise the musicians in the photo, I ask informants to identify them for me.
6) Solo performances by jazz musicians do not count.

a. Solo performances do not add anything meaningful to my sample as there is no ties are added to the sample.
b. A big reason I am choosing jazz as the genre of choice for this case study is because am more interested in the flow or non-flow of ideas between actors – a social phenomenon that is best explored by analysing a genre that requires people to play in groups.
c. These are excluded because I am focusing on who performs or does not perform together. Solo performances do not count as the musicians in question only need abide by their own evaluative criteria and perhaps those of their employers or patrons.
d. In any case, the number of solo performances sampled was negligible.

7) Visiting musicians are included in the sample.
   a. Musicians who were clearly visiting such as American trumpeter Wynton Marsalis are included if they perform alongside non-visiting musicians in their event.
   b. In any case, most visiting musicians do not perform more than three times during the sampling period of two years and are excluded from the sample in the end because of the minimum sampling threshold I impose – a “strength centrality” score of 3 and above.
8) Jam sessions are included in the sample.

a. For jam sessions, I sample only the personnel running, that is, the “house band”, the jam session and not everybody that jams at the jam session, even if data on the jamming personnel were available online. Jammers are more like participating audiences rather than members of a working unit advertised to be hosting an event and thereby providing the service of entertainment at a venue.

9) Performing for big bands and large ensembles ($n > 6$) count.

a. Even if it was a large online collaboration, agreement to participate in such a performance signals that a musician is fine with being publicly associated with the other musicians performing for that online event. As such, even if all the musicians barely know each other or have met each other, by virtue of having produced something together and therefore being possibly associated with each other in the eyes of others, they deserve a network tie between each other.

b. Furthermore, performing together for a large ensemble is a means of getting to know other musicians – something which could form the basis of network ties in the future.

10) Virtual performances count

a. Musicians playing together in a live-stream or video uploaded from a “jazz musicians” website or a Singapore-based location or company count as a collaboration and thus constitute one tie.

11) Performances outside Singapore are excluded, even if they are performed by Singaporean musicians.

a. Social networks are inexplicably tied to the physical territories they traverse. I am focused on the Singapore jazz musician community network as expressed in the geographical territory of Singapore and not the cognitive concept actors possess that is “the jazz musician community” to them.

i. For instance, performances outside Singapore are not competing for time slots and audiences at the limited spaces to perform at in Singapore and only have indirect effects on audiences in Singapore.

b. Regardless, these performances are much less common than those occurring in Singapore.

12) DJs are excluded.

a. I excluded DJs from this sample as they account for a negligible minority of the sample. Those sampled are all isolates, that is, they do not share any ties with any of the non-DJ jazz musicians around.

13) Collaborations with non-musicians do not count.

a. Collaborations with the likes of visual artists, photographers, sommeliers, chefs, and so on do not count. These are excluded for same reasons DJs are excluded.

b. Furthermore, non-musicians have a much different skillset as they come from an altogether different community of knowledge and practice.

Why the Use of Real Names?

I use the real names of the musicians throughout my thesis as I want readers to be able to search for the people I am talking about online and, if possible, replicate and verify my analyses. I decided against pseudonymising or anonymising my sample after obtaining consent from all thirty of my interview respondents for me to use their real names. As for my network sample, I obtained these names from searching for publicly available information online and, as such, do not require consent to use their real names. The use of real names gives my study more realism and validity as, with the real names, readers can look these real people up and think about my analyses for themselves – something that is especially pertinent as I also incorporate analysis of biographical and promotional material on these people that can also be accessed online. In short, with the use of real names, the characters in my research can “come alive” should the reader so choose to look them up online.

Data Analysis

To parse the network data, I use the Weighted Clique Percolation Method (CPMw). In this way, I can detect “communities” in a way that takes into account tie strength and overlap, “communities” defined relationally as a group of nodes who share more ties with each other

than with others outside of the group. I had to optimise the CPMw before using it, eventually settling on $k = 4$ (minimum number of actor required for a k-clique to be recognised) and “intensity” (tie strength required to be included in community) or I = 0.083 (see Appendix E for more details on the optimisation process).

Having parsed community structure, I take it as an artifact of variations in genre ideals between communities. In this way, I can observe fissures between communities, thereby exploiting community structure as an artifact of variations in genre ideals between communities. Yet, having parsed the community structure, I still needed additional qualitative data to understand the community structure in a meaningful way. I found these data in the interviews and content analysis (“digital ethnography”). Only after having conducted the interviews and identified the four genre ideals, I go back to the network data and try to classify the four “worlds” based on their “networking style”, with “networking style” referring to the various forms of boundary-work adopted by actors. These forms of boundary-work result in different criteria for inclusion/exclusion that are reflected in the structure of the network. In this way, through exploring genre ideals, I can then return to the network data to explain fissures within its community structure. Through observing the effects of networking style on the community structure of the network, I can gain insight into genre ideals and thereby evaluative criteria networking styles are artifacts of the evaluative criteria for peer esteem. The interview and

ethnographic data allow me to understand the specifics of each networking style.

Qualitative data

When the unit of analysis is individuals and the relations between individuals, data collection/analysis is different. Having created a “way in” to the network, I collect and analyse qualitative data before returning to analyse the network data as, at that point, all I knew about the network was who was playing with who but not why that was the case. Basically, network data gives me “a way in” through revealing the community structure – something that the follow-up qualitative data can help explain as community structure is artifact of “networking style” which is artifact of “genre ideal”. “Networking style” is an artifact of “genre ideal”. “Genre ideal” governs “evaluative criteria” which governs networking style and thereby community membership.

The qualitative data allows me to extract “genre ideals” which I can then apply to understanding the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community. Through fleshing out respondents’ genre ideals, I can figure out what their “evaluative criteria” is. From figuring out what the “evaluative criteria” are, I can then understand “networking style” or “networking behaviour”**.** In that way, I can understand *why* the network looks the way it is (“community structure”). With the qualitative data, I try to understand the specifics of the genre ideals governing the organisation of the community. Interviews generate types of genre ideals while the network data

shows me the community structure – artifacts of networking styles which I can explain by combining the network data with the qualitative data. These communities converge around shared these genre ideals even though not all their members may subscribe to them.

I divorce classifications of individual respondents according to networking style adopted from their classifications in the previous chapter according to social world membership and build my classifications of their networking practices from the data upwards because, firstly, not everybody in the communities classified in the previous chapter adopts the same networking style and, secondly, their social world classifications are synchronic representations of their community membership which could change upon diachronic analysis of their "lineage" or community membership over time, with the network data that I currently have only a piece in the puzzle as to what the eventual or aggregate networking style they will adopt is. Thus, as the genre ideals are ideal-typical, there would be too many discrepancies if I assumed that their community membership in the network reflects the genre ideal they adopt. After all, genre ideals concern ideals and thus have more to do with the ways that respondents see themselves than their actual network position – the details of which are often obscured to people as most people are only aware of what goes on in their own circles. While a diachronic analysis would no doubt represent the structure of the community better and reflect actors' "true" community membership more accurately, the goal of my study is not to understand whether a musician "truly"

belongs to any social world or adopts a certain networking style but, rather, to show that there is structural diversity in the Singapore jazz musician community both cognitively in terms of the various takes on genre ideals and socially in terms of the various "social worlds" that revolve around them. As such, I present the four genre ideals as ideal-types. I use ideal-types as heuristic constructs with which I characterise the networking behaviour of the members of the Singapore jazz musician community. By fleshing them out and constructing them based on my data, I prepare these constructs so as to use them to draw comparisons between the networking behaviour of groups and perceptions of worth and innovativeness. While there is certainly variation in their enactment among the adopters of the same genre ideal, these ideal-types serve as a heuristic through which I can explain 1) the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community and 2) the specifics of the "work of recombination".

Data collection

Sampling (Interviews)

All but one interview was conducted online. Interviews lasted 45 minutes to 3.5 hours (see Appendix B). When sampling for interview respondents, I wanted to make sure that no category I could think of was under-represented. As such, consistent with my approach to genre, I made sure respondents were sampled these musicological and sociological categories. I sampled across these categories because I wanted to make sure I got the widest range of responses across

sociological categories in case they were important for determining genre ideal adoption. Thus, interview respondents were sampled from across all the categories I could think of (see Appendix C for more a full list of musical and non-musical categories I used to sample interview respondents with). Musicologically, I sampled players of instruments across the roles of the band (rhythm section, soloist, melodist). Indeed, most of the performances sampled consisted of groups of 3 to 5 personnel consisting of musicians performing the aforementioned roles. As such, there are players of all instruments representing all instrument roles in jazz bands present in my sample.

Sociologically speaking, I made sure to sample across age, gender, educational level, and network position (see Appendix C for a breakdown of interview respondents by instrument, age, gender, and educational level). I included age because Singapore and jazz music has changed a lot in since the 1950s (Perera & Perera, 2010b, 2010a; Zheng, 2014; Zubillaga-Pow, 2014). Age could thus potentially relate to genre ideal adoption as genre ideal adoption and networking styles are contingent upon the conditions of each epoch. As for gender, I made sure to include females who were both instrumentalists and vocalists in the sample, thereby ensuring that I did not miss out on the views of females performing various roles in the band. Finally, I included educational level as "human capital" in the form of diplomas and degrees was mentioned as a factor that "can facilitate ties with other musicians" (Dowd & Pinheiro, 2013, pp. 435–436). Thus, I wanted to make sure I had representatives from as wide a range of educational

levels as possible. As seen in Appendix B, although the highest proportion of respondents held bachelor's degrees, those holding diplomas, master's, and doctorate degrees were also represented.

Interview Procedure

I opted for semi-structured, in-depth interviews as I felt that these gave me the most optimal balance between structure and indeterminacy in the sense that I could plan some parts while also allowing for the conversation to run freely with the option of reining it back in if required. I initially envisioned this project as a "network ethnography" (Howard, 2002) where I would conduct ethnographic fieldwork in conjunction with social network analysis. I opted for remote interviews and online content analysis ("digital ethnography") in place of ethnographic fieldwork and on-site interviews in the face of Covid-19 restrictions on public gatherings.

In the interviews, I included a list of topics I had to cover and some accompanying "seed" questions. Interview conversations that "flow" encourage respondents to speak more candidly about their experiences, thereby allowing for richer data. To keep the "flow" of the conversation going, I did not follow a fixed order of questions. Rather, I proceeded from "seed" questions that were to prompt respondents to speak up about topics that I wanted to cover in every interview. In this way, I encourage respondents to talk about the specifics of their "genre ideals" and "evaluative criteria" their "genre ideals" entrail. Lena (2012) explains that genre ideals create and are created by genre

communities. Genre ideals are a set of problems (and solutions to these problems) with a genre shared by members of a community or a set of “preferred changes … genre members seek to enact” to a genre (Lena, 2012, p. 16). The interview questions are aimed at searching for clues regarding how respondents feel about jazz and, by extension, how they feel jazz as a genre should progress in the future.

The essential topics to cover are “relationship with music”, “self-promotion”, “cross-genre collaboration”, and “taste in music”. These topics would allow me to unpack people’s genre ideals and the evaluative criteria implicit to these genre ideals so as to better understand their networking style (i.e., the way they navigate the network).

“Relationship with music” concerns respondents’ “origin story” and status or position in the scene – in the past, the present, and the future. Even though this was a warm-up theme to to give context to respondents’ answers, it became one of the primary “axes of difference” that I could use to classify genre ideal adoption in the end. The way musicians describe themselves shows how see themselves in the community. As part of the questions asked in this topic, I look for patterns and variation in the ways musicians describe themselves and classify responses according to similarities and differences in how they describe their relationship with music since they began playing. Here, I get an idea of how they envision their jazz and creative practice – a

useful point of comparison when compared with responses to the other themes.

“Self-promotion” is the next topic I had to cover during interviews. I had to cover this topic as self-promotion is an important aspect of being a musician in the digital age (Baym, 2019) and was mentioned as a factor that “can facilitate ties with other musicians” (Dowd & Pinheiro, 2013, pp. 432–433). I ask about attitudes towards self-promotion to see where they stand regarding the commercial aspect of being a jazz musician. How do jazz musicians in Singapore “put themselves out there”? Based on Bourdieu’s (1983) findings, I expected to find differences among how jazz musicians in Singapore would market themselves, with those more artistically-minded adopting attitudes of disinterestedness. Indeed, while Purists and Pragmatists conformed to my expectations, I did not expect to discover the Collectivist and Eclectic types.

“Cross-genre collaboration” is the third topic I covered during every interview. “Genre generalism” was mentioned as a factor that “can facilitate ties with other musicians” (Dowd & Pinheiro, 2013, pp. 432–433) as well. As such, I wanted to see how “loose” or “open” respondents were to collaborating with people who had different ideas about jazz than them or with people who were not even jazz musicians. I surmised that attitudes regarding cross-genre collaboration, when collated with answers to other themes, would help me classify respondents.

Finally, “taste in music” as a theme was inspired by Bourdieu’s (1984) study of the “homology” between class and music taste. At the time I conducted the interviews in 2020, I was entertaining the idea of including a two-mode network where musicians could be grouped together on the basis of shared like or dislike for “constellations” of musicians, with taste in music acting as another datapoint with which I could classify their genre ideals and networking styles. I wanted to compare the tastes of respondents to see if there were any similarities or differences in the way they talked about their tastes in music and whether these would give me any clues at to what their genre ideals were. Unfortunately, I did not find anything useful from that, although it was a nice way to end the interview conversations as respondents generally found their tastes in music a pleasant topic. Please refer to Appendix A for the interview guide and the sample question list I used during interviews.

Data Analysis

Interview responses were coded along the lines of the four themes above. These four themes allowed me to elicit similarities and differences in the genre ideals of respondents. I coded the responses in terms of attitudes towards the above four themes pertaining to jazz music practice. From respondents’ interview responses to the four themes, I could see how they envisioned the future of jazz as a genre. I then classified their genre ideals as either 1) ideal-typical (single genre ideal) or 2) “hybrid” (two genre ideals). Before conducting the

interviews, I did not have a pre-conceived notion of what the responses would be like and what the classificatory categories were.

Upon gathering the data and comparing responses, I first noticed that some of the responses, especially responses from respondents with high eigenvector centrality, sounded like they took a page from Bourdieu (1983). Thus, the first genre ideal that was discovered was the Purist type which then led to me classifying Pragmatists who were clearly more market-rather than art-oriented. Thus, I initially began with fleshing out the Purist and Pragmatist ideal-types as those had already been fleshed out by Bourdieu (1983) in that both respond to opposite ends of Bourdieu's "autonomous"-"heteronomous" model – one was not interested in commerce while, for the other, commerce was a vocation.

Regardless on whether they belong on the same plane as Bourdieu's (1983) "autonomous" or "heteronomous" poles, fleshing out these two types responds to calls for further research on the specifics of evaluative criteria (Beljean et al., 2015).I found out later on however, that there were interview responses which did not fit into either of those types. As such, I labelled Collectivists as such due to their community-mindedness and how they take the role of jazz advocacy so seriously. The Collectivist and Eclectic types were eventually discovered by identifying similarities and differences among respondents whose answers did not fall cleanly into the Purist or Pragmatist types. While Bourdieu (1983) did mention that those two

were but the polar ends of a spectrum of positions actors could take between them, others argue that 1) there might be other planes of position-taking strategies that involve considerations that are not related to finance or prestige or 2) there might be others who see *both* finance and prestige as primary considerations. Indeed, as we shall see, I crafted the Collectivist and Eclectic types by relating patterns in their responses to types found in “post-Bourdieu” (Beljean et al., 2015) literature.

Empirical Chapter 1: The Ideal-Typical Genre Ideals of Jazz Musicians in Singapore: Evaluative Criteria and Networking Styles

Introduction and Overview

Having collected the network data and having performed clustering analysis, I created a “map” of the Singapore jazz musician community based who performed with who. At this point, I could see the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community but could not explain it as I did not know what sustained the boundaries between the communities identified by the CPMW algorithm and how I should go about classifying the communities detected. Thus, I went ahead with collecting the interview and ethnographic data I use in this chapter to try and understand what the “evaluative criteria” (Lamont, 1992) were being used by jazz musicians in Singapore. To do so, I had to find out about their “genre ideals”, as these structure community in musical communities (Lena, 2012). To this end, I conducted interviews with 30 respondents and conducted a “digital ethnography” by searching for publicly available information online on both interview respondents and members of the jazz musician community included in the social network I created. In the

end, I discovered four distinct genre ideals that correspond to the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community. That is a relationship that I will elaborate on in the next empirical chapter.

In this chapter, I present my findings regarding the similarities and differences in the genre ideals and evaluative criteria of jazz musicians in Singapore. In doing so, I prepare the ground for the analysis of the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community I present in the next chapter by introducing the four genre ideals adopted by jazz musicians in Singapore. Through identifying and understanding these genre ideals, I shed light on the evaluative criteria jazz musicians in Singapore use to sustain differences between communities as these evaluative criteria govern the networking choices that they make. Focusing on the relationships between the members of the Singapore jazz musician community and taking them as my unit of analysis for this chapter, I introduce the genre ideals, I introduce the Purist, Pragmatist, Collectivist, and Eclectic genre ideals – four ideal-typical genre ideals that I discovered through analysing the interview and ethnographic data I collected on 30 interview respondents – here. By identifying the salient genre ideals adopted by interview respondents, I get a better sense of the evaluative criteria they employ in their networking style and, by extension, the kind of networking style or form of symbolic boundary-work they adopt when deciding who to collaborate with. By understanding the forms of symbolic boundary-work that jazz musicians in Singapore adopt, I can begin to understand what sustains community boundaries in the

Singapore jazz musician community. Understanding the bases through which community boundaries are sustained and enacted allows me to then, in the next empirical chapter, explore the reasons why the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community is the way it is and, in the third and final empirical chapter, how jazz musicians occupying the overlap between communities in Singapore are navigating the exigencies of comembership to multiple communities their evaluative criteria.

In this chapter, I explore how the members of the Singapore jazz musician community distinguish themselves from each other and ask the question, “What are the genre ideals of jazz musicians in Singapore?” By extension, I also ask, “What are the various forms of boundary-work adopted by jazz musicians in Singapore?”. In the context of communities brought together by music, what sets people apart from each other are the genre ideals they enact (Lena, 2012). In the context of cultural production in musical communities, the kinds of genre ideals musicians adopt affect the way they decide who to collaborate with or not, thereby affecting the way they talk about and present themselves and their music as they set about curating the boundaries of their collaborative networks.

Genre ideals govern networking style which, in turn, governs the evaluative criteria regarding who to collaborate with and, ultimately, the network position musicians end up in. As such, by identifying the genre ideals and fleshing out their specifics, we have an “entry point”

into the data with which I can explain the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community in my next empirical chapter and begin unpacking the specifics of the "work of recombination" in my final empirical chapter. Having identified the various forms of boundary-work implicit to the various genre ideals in the form of the networking styles adopted by respondents in this chapter, I can then proceed to analyse the network data by asking the question, "How do the networking styles adopted by jazz musicians in Singapore work to sustain community structure in the Singapore jazz musician community?". Through fleshing out the similarities and differences between respondents' discursive practices as observed in the interview and ethnographic data I collected about them, I flesh out the four ideal-typical genre ideals of adopters of each of the networking styles and, correspondingly, the ideal-typical ethos of each of the four "worlds" I identified from my network analysis in the next chapter.

Thematic Similarities and Differences

I generated the names of the four classifications of genre ideals presented here from coding the interview data in conjunction with ethnographic data I collected on the interview respondents online. Having identified the genre ideals and unpacked their evaluative criteria, I proceed to classify each of the evaluative criteria implicit to each genre ideal in terms of Lamont's (1992) classificatory framework of forms of boundary-work. In this way, I can compare the evaluative criteria of each genre ideal in a more systematic manner. The

classifications of respondents by genre ideal are thus a result of an inductive, iterative process of going back and forth between the data and my classifications. As I was coding the data, I would constantly go back and forth between interview responses to reassess previous classifications in light of new information I was getting. Depending on the similarities and differences I identified regarding respondents' attitudes towards the four topics (relationship with music, self-promotion, cross-genre collaboration, and taste in music) they were all asked to elaborate upon during the interviews, I classified respondents whose answers were most like each other into groups based on differences in their attitudes towards the four themes that I use to distinguish between adopters of the various genre ideals.

The first genre ideal I identified was the Purist ideal. I found that the responses of respondents that I eventually classified as Purists maintained attitudes that closely resembled Bourdieu's "autonomous principle". Yet another group – those that I eventually classified as Pragmatists – maintained attitudes that closely resembled the "heteronomous principle", that is, the polar opposite of the "autonomous principle". Having classified 4 ideal-typical Purists (AJ, AL, CS, WM) and 3 ideal-typical Pragmatists (JD, NS, PX), I then proceeded to classify the rest of the respondents as Purist-leaning or Pragmatist-leaning. While this classification strategy bore fruit by helping me identify 3 "hybrid" Purist-Pragmatist respondents (AF, JW, YZ), it still, ultimately, did not capture as wide a range of responses as I would have liked as I was still unable to classify the other respondents along

these lines due to aspects of their responses which did not fit into Purist or Pragmatist frameworks. In particular, the 2 ideal-typical Collectivists (AS, RM) were labelled as such due their use of “community-building” to justify their networking strategies. The final group, the Eclectics, were distinguished from the others by constantly justifying their networking strategies in terms of “curiosity” and “discovery” (GL, NR, TM, TO). After a few more rounds of coding and classifying, I was eventually satisfied with my classifications when I found that the remainder of the respondents’ activities could be classified as “hybrid” adopters of combinations of the ideal-typical genre ideals I had already identified. Thus, after iterative rounds of coding the interview data, I eventually settled with classifying 13/30 respondents as ideal-typical adopters of a single genre ideal and 17/30 respondents as adopters of two genre ideals. The results of this classification process are displayed in Table 1 where I show the indicators for adoption of genre ideals that I used to classify respondents and the classification of the four forms of boundary-work (or “networking styles”) into Lamont’s (1992) classificatory framework of symbolic boundaries.

In this chapter, I focus on the 13 ideal-typical adopters of the four genre ideals, although examples also be drawn from “hybrid” adopters for illustration given that they are also, to varying extents, adopters of the genre ideals explicated here. I begin with presenting the Purist and Pragmatist genre ideals first as they were the first two that I noticed in the interview data before proceeding to the Collectivist and Pragmatist

genre ideals later in the chapter. For ease of reading, interviews will be cited using abbreviated code names (e.g., BL which stands for Benjamin Low). Please refer to Appendix B for further details on these codes if necessary.

Table 1: Indicators of Genre Ideal Adoption

	Purist	**Pragmatist**	**Collectivist**	**Eclectic**
Form of Symbolic Boundary-Work	Moral (I)	Socio-economic	Moral (II)	Cultural
Attitude towards Being a Jazz Musician	Spiritual; Art; Revolution	Business; Prosperity; Entrepreneurship	Community; Advocacy; Diplomacy	Discovery; Curiosity; Self-Actualisation
Attitude towards Self-promotion as a Jazz Musician	Necessary evil to survive in capitalistic world but a waste of time otherwise	To communicate value and reach audiences	To create awareness for genre or cause	Signalling for prospective collaborators
Attitude towards Cross-Genre Collaboration as a Jazz Musician	Acceptable only if under "BAM" umbrella	Good for audience development	Healthy for jazz	Breeds creativity
Attitude towards Exclusivity and Elitism in Jazz	Necessary evil for quality control; Elitism is natural as some people are more dedicated and talented than others	Ambivalent as exclusivity grants prestige and legitimacy; Exclusivity is fine if one is not planning on making money	Bad for genre in the long-term	Exclusivity is boring; Elitism is unjustifiable as times change and the music evolves

The Purist Genre Ideal: Honesty and Equality

Adopters of the Purist genre ideal deploy moral standards of exclusion and draw moral boundaries based on sincerity, authenticity, and honesty.

Boundaries Drawn: Moral (I)

According to Lamont (1992), “moral boundaries can be understood by looking at contrasted conceptions of honesty that are revealed when … interviewees explicate the labels they mobilize to describe ‘dishonest people.’” (p. 25) As with Lamont’s interviewees as well as with the Purists of the Singapore jazz musician community, moral purity is signalled through the seemingly conflicting concepts of industry and ambition on the one hand and conflict avoidance and egalitarianism on the other. Moral boundaries are enforced by evaluative criteria that place a high priority on honesty and authenticity of person. Purists’ attitudes towards the four topics in the interviews revolve around honesty and authenticity as a central theme. Purists draw moral boundaries against those who are perceived to be fake and manipulative towards others to achieve success. Skill, knowledge, and moral decency are the key factors that are appreciated by Purists in deciding who to include or exclude into their circle of frequent collaborators. This moral form of

boundary-work implicit to the Purist genre ideal is expressed in respondents' attitudes towards the four interview themes.

Relationship with Music: Disinterestedness

In their view, musicians' relationship with music should be purely with the music and not for any other kind of "hidden agenda" (AL). As such, if one plays music, the goal of playing music should be to improve their technical proficiency so as to remove the technical barriers to self-expression. Honesty is measured through dedication to music. Dedication to music is observed in musicians possessing high levels of proficiency and familiarity with the culture of jazz on and off the bandstand (AJ, AL, AF, YZ). The virtue of honesty explains the disinterested disposition Purists adopt regarding their involvement in music. Purists' responses suggest a strong sense of "disinterestedness" (Bourdieu, 1983) in personal gain of any sort from playing music. Rather, Purists couch their involvement in music in terms of a spiritual journey (WM), the pursuit of knowledge and fulfilment (CS), and aesthetic revolution (AJ, AL, WX).

On the one hand, hard work is taken as a sign of dedication and authenticity of person as there is no other way to achieve a high level of skill on the instrument and a deep knowledge of music and culture other than through having spent a large amount of time and effort procuring the knowledge and skill required to improve as a musician (AJ, AL, AF). On the other

hand, an egalitarian ethos is maintained through explaining away "differences in performance … by factors other than innate superiority" and attempts to "make this strenuous competition more human by distinguishing between various competing principles of hierarchalization which relativize one another" (Lamont, p. 42). Maintaining this egalitarian ethos is crucial for Purists to justify their distance from those who they feel engage in and are complicit in systemic oppression. An example of how egalitarianism is enacted by Purists can be seen in how Purists sometimes refer to how, as trained musicians, technically proficient musicians lose sight of what it means to connect with the music viscerally – something that an untrained musician that comes "authentically" from the culture of the music, that is, not through classical notation systems or formal education, that she plays might be able to do (CS).

Self-Promotion: Uncomfortable

Following on from their disinterested attitude towards playing music, they are markedly uncomfortable and almost antagonistic towards self-promotion, preferring to either keep self-promotion offline (AJ, AL, WX) or engage in the bare minimum required to sustain their involvement in the community (AF, YZ).

Purists draw moral boundaries against those who are perceived to be fake and manipulative towards others to achieve

success. Skill, knowledge, and moral decency are the key factors that are appreciated by Purists in deciding who to include or exclude into their circle of frequent collaborators. Purists do not promote themselves much online, with posts likely to focus on providing basic information with regards to who is playing, where they are playing, and when they are playing. As with some of Lamont's French interviewees, Purists "often gauge others morally on the basis of whether or not they contribute to political and economic oppression. They criticize capitalists as immoral by nature and take political attitudes into consideration in the choice of their friends" (p. 54). As such, Purists insist that they practise hard not to succeed at the expense of somebody else, but to simply explore the limits of their own capability, that is, for self-actualisation rather than for domination (CS). Purists thus adopt an "aggressively pacifistic" (AL) style of self-presentation in which they try not to be perceived as overly eager to become famous or rich – a style that belies an innate belief that one should not be greedy in trying to garner more success than one deserves.

Thus, self-promotion goes against the Purist ethos of honesty as it not only is a waste of time that could have been spent improving oneself, it also involves the presentation of a self that is fake (AJ, AL, CS). This idea of self-promotion goes against the criteria of honesty as it demonstrates that someone is not involved with music for the betterment of oneself or

society but for personal gain and exploitation. In Purist circles, virtuosity and knowledge of jazz culture is taken as a signal of dedication to the genre as it is evidence of heavy investment and sacrifice – a sure sign that someone is committed and 'in it for the right reasons', that is, playing music not just to be famous or rich but to do something "meaningful" (WM) like reminding society of things like aesthetic beauty in the face of neoliberal economics (AL, WM) and promoting positive values like racial equality, meritocracy, and democracy (WX) by "walking the walk" instead of "talking the talk".

According to Purist respondents, the way they are expected to promote themselves in goes against the very reasons they began playing music in the first place (CS).Knowing that he needs to get better at marketing himself while not expending any effort to do so is why bassist Christy Smith calls himself "lazy". Regarding why it is so difficult for him to get himself to get better at marketing himself, he claims that earning money was not why he started playing music. According to him, he was "just lookin' at the value of working with an artist or person of a certain caliber" at the beginning of his career (CS), that is, he was motivated by the need to improve himself to such a level that he would be able to play music with those that he admired. He only realised that he needed to earn money from making music when he realised that he needed to "pay the rent" – something that only occurred to him later in his career. Purists tend to follow this

narrative of needing to learn how to market themselves even though they do not want to and that earning money was not the reason they decided to learn music in the first place (AJ, AL, CS, AF).

As such, if there is to be any kind of self-promotion by Purists, it would be conducted in a manner that is “real”. That is, the self-promotion does not attempt to promote that which is not real or that which cannot be delivered (AL). As we will see with the Purist-Pragmatists in the third empirical chapter, the Purist disposition, when invoked in conjunction with the Pragmatist genre ideal, is what contributes to the label I give Purist-Pragmatists: “Honest Entertainers”. For Purists, the focus should be the music performance above all else and to keep their community tight, small, and filled only with the “realest”, that is, the most authentic and dedicated, musicians, with authenticity and dedication observed in the music rather than from non-musical sources like biographical write-ups and press features. They are generally guided by the adage “those who know, know” and pay little heed to communicating with those who they perceive to “not get it”.

As they believe their music should speak for itself, Purists generally adopt a low-key or parodic networking style, presenting themselves candidly as they would rather people like or dislike them for who they truly are rather than like them for who they

are not, with who they are reflected in the music they play (AJ, AL, WM). As such, Purists generally avoid attempts to seem friendlier than they think they are. Self-promotion is thus kept to a bare minimum for Purists as they perceive the value of their music to be self-explanatory and thereby requiring no marketing – self-promotion should not be necessary as the music itself should be enough to attract audiences. Ideally, those who know, know, thereby negating the need for any more self-promotion than is necessary – a mass audience that is not knowledgeable is not desired anyway (AL). In this way, moral boundaries against those perceived to hype themselves up excessively are drawn as such people are perceived to be dishonest and greedy for using self-promotion tactics to inflate their value to people who do not know any better.

These attitudes towards self-promotion belie a spiritual attitude towards being a jazz musician. For Purists, then, music is a vocation in the Weberian sense of the word in that it is to be pursued with a “passionate devotion” or not at all (Weber, 1958, p. 112). Music needs to mean something to Purists – it cannot be a commodity to be merely bought and sold in the marketplace as it needs to transcend the “dog-eat-dog” values that Purists perceive to dominate contemporary society. In their opinion, neoliberalist ideology turns life into a Darwinian situation in which the weak are dominated by the strong and life is devoid of meaning and beauty (AJ, AL, WM). They, however, accept that

neoliberal economics is a fact of life in contemporary society and that they will have to live with the bitter acceptance that their worth will be evaluated “heteronomously” (Bourdieu, 1983), that is, along the lines of market-oriented economics antithetical to their values instead of “autonomously”, that is, along the lines of the aesthetic evaluative criteria prevalent in the musical and artistic communities they belong to. They also, however, believe that their music can be a “force for good” (WM) that can change society for the better. The music they play ideally represents the changes they would like to see in society. The revolutionary aspect of their music lies in how their aesthetic should run counter to the values of a morally lacking society that is increasingly devoid of beauty when everything of beauty is reduced to a commodity (AJ, AL, WM).

Cross-Genre Collaboration: BAM

When asked if he plays jazz, drummer Aaron James Lee responded by saying that he would rather use the term “Black American Music” (BAM) to describe the music he is playing (AJ). The “BAM” movement has slowly gathered momentum over the last decade since eminent American trumpeter Nicholas Payton infamously pronounced in 2011 that “jazz is dead” and suggested that the label “jazz” be replaced with the term “Black American Music”. A cornerstone of Payton’s argument is that many of jazz’s founding fathers such as Sidney Bechet and Louis

Armstrong did not agree with the use of the term “jazz”. To Payton, jazz is a “four-letter word” – a vulgar and perverse label that obscures the African-American roots of a lot of American music including jazz itself. According to him, “jazz” is a term coined by the record industry to appropriate and monetise music that came from black people without giving them any credit for it (Payton, 2011).

The usage of “jazz” as a genre appellation is, as it is with Payton, perceived of by Purists as a form of cultural appropriation by corporate elites in which the contributions of black people are diminished due to the severing of the genre from its black, American origins. An example of said cultural appropriation is when jazz is referred to as “America’s classical music” – a genre of music coming from America that has managed to achieve the same level of prestige as European classical music by fusing European harmonies with African rhythms. Trumper Nicholas Payton takes issue with such an understanding of “jazz” as he argues that it makes it seem as if black people were not able to come up with such harmonies themselves. As such, he argues that the term “jazz” should be done away with as it is high time that people acknowledged the “true” core of the music as without this acknowledgement, jazz and other forms of music under the BAM umbrella could lose its coherence and cultural significance (Barton, 2013).

Accordingly, adopters of the Purist genre ideal have a negative relationship with the term “jazz”. In their view, “jazz” is not an ideal term to use for the music they play as it not only encompasses too many musicologically different styles of music for it to be useful (RX, YH) but also obscures the ethnic origins of the music (AJ, AL, CS). To Purists, invoking BAM as a better genre identifier than “jazz” draws boundaries against those who are not aware that a lot of the music they play or listen to originated from the folk music of Black American people. As such, it is a form of boundary-work against the ignorant in the name of fighting racism by raising awareness of it and thereby achieving social justice. Purists in the interview sample report being more likely to accept cross-genre collaboration, that is, collaboration with members of the other “worlds” of the jazz musician community or collaboration with members of other genres, if the music to be played can be justified as part of the “Black American Music” (“BAM”) umbrella of musicological genres (AJ, AL, CS). In a nutshell, at least in the context used by some of the musicians interviewed, genres under the BAM umbrella include soul, R&B, and funk music – popular music genres that they perceive African-Americans to be at the root of. Invoking and aligning oneself with the BAM movement signals to others that they acknowledge the systemic discrimination and abuse that black people in the US and around the world have endured

throughout history and that, at least in music, Black people can have some of the credit they deserve.

By invoking BAM, Purists thus draw moral boundaries against those they perceive to be complicit in the perpetuation of systemic injustice not only against Black people, but against powerless minorities in general. Invoking BAM frames the music of Purists as a means of raising the awareness necessary to fight social injustice. Thus, invoking BAM is a form of virtue signalling on the part of Purists who would like to attract people who share a similar view of the transformative and revolutionary power of music while repelling those who do not think likewise or at least shocking them into self-reflection (AJ, AL, WM). By invoking BAM, Purists also draw moral boundaries against those who know about the abuse and discrimination of Black Americans and other minorities but choose to perpetuate the status quo through indifference and inaction (AJ, AL). Virtue signalling aside, invoking BAM also potentially allows Purists some wriggle room in terms of the kind of music they can play. With BAM, they can justify that when they take on a commercial gig to entertain people, they are still playing music that is related to jazz and the Afro-American tradition and are thereby still ethically consistent. When framed as such, they can justify earning money from more lucrative genres outside of the jazz tradition while still preserving the sanctity of their music. The signal they are sending out is that even if they are playing a non-jazz gig, they are not the same as

all the others who are perceived by Purists to be doing it solely to earn money or fame. Purists are sending out a signal that they are different from “sell-outs” who appropriate BAM and that they have not compromised on their ideals even though they may very well be playing music for popular entertainment and are earning money from it.

In this vein, the Purists’ aesthetic revolution and the resistance against neoliberalism can continue even when playing relatively commercially viable music. As we shall see in the next chapter, it could also be for this reason that the Purist “world” shares some overlap with the Pragmatist “world” – after all, Purists still need to make a living (CS, WX). Cross-genre collaboration is therefore more likely to be acceptable to Purists if the conditions upon which such collaboration is to take place are pliable to their moral standards. As such, they usually do not collaborate much with those who do not appreciate BAM ideology in the same way they do, thereby explaining the lack of overlap their “world” shares with musicians outside the realm of those who share similar ideas about what is musically and ethically acceptable.

Exclusivity and Elitism: Natural

Jazz elitism is the idea that jazz is the preserve of a select few who deserve to perform or consume it. Purists do not perceive such elitism negatively as they generally take the

attitude that “nothing in the world is for everyone” (WM). While they believe that the tradition of jazz music is important to preserve correctly, it is not because they are territorial. Rather, it is because they want to ensure continuity so that the values of jazz music are passed on intact from generation to generation (CS). As such, jazz elitism is justified in the name of preserving the tradition of the music, with the idea being that the music is what it is and there is no point in trying to change the style of the music to cater to audiences that are not meant to consume it. As seen in their attitude towards self-promotion, Purists believe the music should not change to pander to audiences as it is generally preferable to them that audiences do not like the music as it is as opposed to audiences liking the music in a form that is no longer recognisable. To them, if the music is complex and people do not like it, that is not the fault of the music or its creators (AL).

As such, egalitarianism to them is enacted not by changing the form of the music to cater to “external” audiences but by treating audience and musician with the same level of respect through precisely not altering the music for audiences. For Purists, it is condescending to assume that audiences do not understand the music – the music should speak to audiences viscerally and impact them without explanation. If it does not, then either the musicians are not doing their job or the music simply is not meant to be consumed by those audiences (WM). This attitude towards egalitarianism differs from Collectivist

enactments of jazz egalitarianism in which it is more the fault of the musician for not being able to communicate to non-understanding audiences or make the music more accessible and could be, as we shall see in the next chapter, one of the reasons Purist and Collectivist “worlds” do not overlap even though Purists and Collectivists enact moral boundaries.

As respondents report, Purists’ blasé attitude towards musical inclusivity has resulted in accusations of elitism from other musicians and audiences. Purists do not agree with these accusations and feel that it is “sad” (AJ) that people should think this way about them as, according to them, they never intended to be elitist. Rather, they insist that all they have been trying to do has been to reach as high a level of competency as possible as a musician trying to learn about and understand jazz, a genre that they all love precisely because of its complexity and high skill ceiling. According to them, the reason jazz musicians tend to be more technically competent and aesthetically agile than musicians of other genres is not because they are purposely trying to exclude people from the genre community and be elitist (AJ).

A reason Purists do not see jazz elitism as necessarily bad is because they believe that performing or consuming jazz simply requires a higher baseline of musical competency from its producers and audiences than other genres and that that is not

the fault of jazz music or its musicians. To them, just because jazz requires a higher baseline of knowledge and skill for participation than other genres does not mean that it is elitist. Purists believe that they cannot be faulted for wanting to master a challenging musical form (AJ). For this reason, they feel that other musicians are unjustified in criticising them as exclusive and insular. As drummer Aaron James Lee puts it, jazz musicians are supposed to be “the scientists of music” (AJ) as they are supposed to be those who approach music most analytically and generally possess more formal knowledge about music compared to those from other genres. As such, Purists view being a jazz musician as, ideally, being a flag-bearer of the musical world by setting the standard for all musicians in terms of musicianship. As those that are supposed to be at the forefront of musical development, they argue that they cannot be called elitist for wanting to excel in their role in the wider musical community and that it is other musicians who are at fault for unfairly calling them elitists (AJ).

In fact, harking back to BAM, Purists feel that the reason they have been unjustly called elitist is because of the arbitrary genre label – jazz – imposed upon the music they love (AJ, AL). They argue that if there were no genre label for jazz or musical genres in general, no one would be able to label jazz elitist as without a genre label to demarcate jazz from other genres, there would be nothing to exclude people from. In their view, “music is

music" and jazz, as Nicholas Payton argues, is just "a four-letter word" that has limited utility in describing the kind of music they play. Purists do not even refer to themselves as jazz musicians and argue that it is because they are "put in a box" (AJ) – the arbitrary box of "jazz" – they are being seen as elitist when all musicians, regardless of genre, should be proud of themselves and should consider themselves "part of the family" (AJ). As such, if arbitrary genre labels such as jazz were removed and musicians simply saw themselves as one big family, then serious jazz musicians such as themselves would not be called elitist as their efforts would then be seen as beneficial to all musicians in terms of raising the bar for what is technically and aesthetically possible and upholding or improving the image of musicians as a professional vocation. For these reasons, they are generally of the view that genre labels should be ignored entirely and that music should be appreciated for what it is without any of the "industry-generated" labels arbitrarily imposed upon them. Indeed, in some Purists' views, genre labels are a means for the music industry to divide musicians so that they can be turned against each other and exploited (AJ, CS).

However, the Purist idea of jazz egalitarianism in treating their audiences as equals in musical knowledge and not caring about whether audiences understand the music or not draws a line between those who are technically competent and knowledgeable about musical theory and tradition and those who

are not, with the stakes being exclusion on the basis of a lack of dedication. Being aware of this possibility, Purists take pains to make sure that they are not seen as condescending towards musicians or other genres. One way they do this is through complimenting the “natural” and “pristine” relationship that musicians of other less technically integrated genres have with music, especially musicians who practise ancient genres such as Tabala Wolof from Senegal and Carnatic music from India and experienced musicians who, despite having little or no formal training in music, can play on a “pure”, visceral level that transcends modern standards of evaluation (AJ, AL, CS). As in Lamont (1992) where adopters of moral standards of exclusion signal moral purity through the seemingly conflicting concepts of ambition and egalitarianism, despite their belief that jazz is more technically demanding than other genres, Purists are morally obliged to treat other musicians as musical equals. Even though Purists might think that other musicians are not as skilful or knowledgeable as them, they are morally obliged to treat them with respect. For instance, bassist Christy Smith recounts a story in which he was “humbled” by a technically less competent but extremely groovy reggae bassist that he saw play back when he was still living in Los Angeles in the 1970s:

> When the bass player played, here again I was just completely humbled. I felt about, like, Fred Flintstone when he shrinks down to the size of a thumb. I was like… “Listen to a journeyman bass player lay the groove down.” I was like… (saying to myself) “You don’t know nothin’!” *laughs* I was like.. “Goddamn! You got to

> play with Mercer Ellington, Gordon Goodwin, (you) can read, (you) can play a little bit", but I can't lay it down like *that* brother could, I'm tellin' you. I was like… *GOD-DAMN*. Seasoned veteran … journeyman musician out of Philadelphia. On the road. Three-piece group, layin' it down.. you know what I'm sayin'?
>
> (CS, bassist, 61-70 years old)

Here, Smith puts himself down and praises a bassist who was less technically competent but more experienced than he was by telling himself that despite his musical competence ("got to play with Mercer Ellington, Gordon Goodwin… can read… can play a little bit…"), he could not "lay it down like *that* brother could" and was therefore humbled by the "pure" relationship this "journeyman bass player" had with music, resulting in his ability to groove harder than Smith could, thereby "humbling" him. By emphasising the ability of a less technically competent bassist to be able to make music, however, Smith appears egalitarian while at the same time drawing attention to his higher skill level. In other words, according to Smith, the "journeyman" bassist succeeds where Smith fails both in spite and because of his lower level of technical skill. In this way, Smith can appear magnanimous while at the same time emphasising that jazz musicians are more technically competent, with his point being because "there's always somethin' that humbles you" (CS), one should always maintain a disposition of respect towards members of other genres. To Purists, having technical skill does not equate to being able to play music well. Despite having studied musical theory and being able to read music, one still needs to be open to the inspiration that can come from listening to musicians who are not as technically

competent as these musicians have a more visceral relation to music that is untainted by formal musical knowledge (AJ, AL, CS).

> In other words, less technically competent musicians should be respected as they have a potentially “purer”, that is, in Purist terms, more earnest, relation to music than technically competent jazz musicians do. By praising the less technically competent bassist, Smith maintains an egalitarian front while simultaneously preserving the status of jazz musicians as musicians higher up on a scale of technical difficulty than those of other genres in the same way Lamont’s adopters of moral standards of exclusion “make … strenuous competition more human by distinguishing between various competing principles of hierarchalization which relativize one another” (Lamont, 1992, p. 42). As we shall see in the next chapter, proof of Purists’ tacit exclusion of musicians lacking in virtuosity lies in the Purists high eigenvector centrality scores and relatively lower betweenness centrality scores. Purists, despite their claims to egalitarianism, avoid collaborating with those who they deem cannot perform at their level, although they do differentiate between those who are earnestly trying hard to improve and those who they feel just lack dedication.

The Pragmatist Genre Ideal: Value and Prosperity

Boundaries Drawn: Socio-Economic

Pragmatists draw socioeconomic boundaries based on "desirability on the basis of social position" and are "attracted by success" (Lamont, 1992, p. 63). To adopters of the Pragmatist genre ideal, as with those who draw socioeconomic boundaries as represented in Lamont (ibid), success is essentially about value, with value ultimately tested with tangible wealth. As such, appearances matter as if one looks like one desires success, one is more likely to achieve it and attract others who are searching for the same thing. In the Pragmatist ethos, success is about value. Those who have "created value" have achieved success and vice versa (JD, PX). Accordingly, there is nothing wrong with pursuing money and fame in music as money and fame are perceived as objective markers of worth to Pragmatists.

Hence, Pragmatists exclude those who do not hold themselves to the level of professionalism expected of someone who is serious about becoming successful in the music industry. As such, they exclude those deemed unprofessional, with unprofessionalism signalled through laziness and tardiness – attitudes of people who seem to have no regard for how they are perceived publicly (AF, JW). Conversely, Pragmatists include collaborators who signal professionalism through displaying a

good work ethic and positive attitude towards doing good business (JW, PX, JC) such as musicians who have a good public image. Pragmatists thus adopt socioeconomic standards of exclusion in drawing boundaries against those who they deem are not successful or serious about becoming successful, with success measured in fame or monetary value and desire for success measured in industriousness and a professional attitude to not only musical performance but also self-promotion.

Such a socio-economic form of boundary-work implicit to the Pragmatist genre ideal is expressed in respondents' attitudes towards the four interview themes.

Relationship with Music: Business

Pragmatists adopt a realist stance in their attitude towards being a musician. Pragmatists do not perceive being a musician or artist as a particularly exceptional vocation and believe that musicians should work as hard as people working in other industries and not make excuses for themselves if they do not succeed (AF, NS). Business and economics jargon prevail in Pragmatist circles as they see themselves as "realists" – people who see things for what they "really" are, with "real" usually referring to "bottom line" issues such as finances and material resources as well as relations of power (JD, PX, AF, YZ).

In opposition to the Purists, Pragmatists are the closest in disposition to the "heteronomous" pole of Bourdieu's (1983)

“autonomous-heteronomous” spectrum in that they, in contrast to Purists, accept the conditions upon which worth is evaluated imposed by the larger, “external” economic world to which, according to Bourdieu (ibid), the world of music is subsumed. Rather than display “disinterestedness”, that is, the denial of personal gain as a motive for playing jazz, Pragmatists are forthright about money and fame and approach these issues straightforwardly, that is, these issues are not as denied or concealed in self-presentation compared to with Purists. Not avoiding the topic of business, Pragmatists make it clear that they mean business and are serious about providing entertainment “value” during performances.

Pragmatists are straightforward about being musicians. Being a musician is about being able to deliver the products and services that musicians provide effectively. Hence, Pragmatists tend to adopt a realist disposition towards networking in that they see things as the way things “really” are. Pragmatists distinguish between creative and mundane aspects of being a musician and assert that both are important aspects of being a musician (JW). In pianist, composer/arranger, and entrepreneur Jordan Wei’s words:

> So, the way I see it is that pop is the bread and butter, then the jazz is the passion and the art. So, you need supplies for art what right? *laughs* You can’t just say “oh I’m gonna make art”, (and) then (say) “where are my supplies I don’t have any money to buy my supplies for art” what, so it kinda works hand in hand like the pop gigs sustain my jazz interest, you know. Sometimes I do gigs

that don’t pay but then, I look at the gig as a platform for me to showcase my new music or like network with (people). Basically anything that increases your value lah, as a musician, whether it’s … learning new tunes to build up your repertoire, pop repertoire or jazz repertoire whichever, or trying to approach the music in a different way cuz there are some gigs I do that are pop which are.. quite open, so I kind of try to reharmonize those pop tunes (for example).

(JW, pianist and bandleader, 31-40 years old)

In the excerpt above, JW distinguishes between “bread and butter” and “passion and the art” in his musical practice, arguing that each are as important to him as a musician as he argues, metaphorically, that one cannot create art if one does not have the “supplies” to do so. To Pragmatists as with JW, both these “artistic” and “commercial” aspects of being a jazz musician are inter-related in ways that feed each other. “Artistic” gigs that “don’t pay” can serve as a “platform” for JW to “showcase … new music” or “network” – activities that ultimately serve to potentially “increase” one’s “value” as a musician through, for instance, helping to distinguish oneself from other musicians who only perform “bread and butter” music (JW). Conversely, JW argues that even “bread and butter” gigs can serve a function greater than simply earning money by being an opportunity for musical experimentation through, for instance, reharmonisation. Thus, as opposed to Purists who deny economic motives in their relationship with music, Pragmatists are upfront about it and assert that to deny these motives is to be in denial. Accordingly, in their networking in opposition to Purists, Pragmatists are

upfront about the economics of their decision-making processes and make clear that, as if they had all read Bourdieu (1983, 1984), they are fully aware that their involvement in the music industry is like playing a game and that playing the game requires hard work and strategy (JD, JW, AF, NS, YZ). To Pragmatists, jazz performances are treated as business transactions in which they negotiate for the best outcome for everyone involved including the non-musicians involved such as the technical crew and promoters. As such, Pragmatists are well-dressed, provide high-resolution promotional photos, and are digitally savvy compared to Purists or Collectivists who typically appear more austere or rugged than their Pragmatist counterparts in publicity photos online.

Accordingly, Pragmatists are more malleable and less dogmatic in terms of their aesthetics and values than Purists are. In contrast to Purists, Pragmatists perceive aesthetic malleability less as a moral compromise and more as a professional imperative. To Pragmatists, the dogmatic approach of Purists gets in the way of professional success. Pragmatists feel that those who are overly fussy about their musical boundaries prioritise “pride” and “ego” at the expense of the proper delivery and presentation of the product – something that is considered unprofessional among Pragmatists (JD, AF, NS, TG). As such, abstract considerations such as authenticity of self or genre, aesthetic revolution, and artistic autonomy are deemed indulgent

and unprofessional if they are pursued as goals in and of themselves and get in the way of good business (TG). Realism is not cynicism for Pragmatists – it simply means that they are fully aware of the business aspect of being a musician and accept that it is a part of the job description that should be talked about plainly as that is how Pragmatists believe is the way the world works. Again, most things Pragmatists do can be explained and justified as a means of increasing of their own value or the value of their networks.

Self-Promotion: Imperative (I)

Self-promotion is a central and important distinguishing factor for Pragmatists. To them, professional self-promotion is a sign of dedication to music. As with musical and cultural competency for Purists, professional self-promotion is proof of dedication to the music. Thus, as opposed to Purists, proof of dedication lies in one's willingness and ability to learn about self-promotion. To Pragmatists, being a musician is about being able to create value for oneself and one's community – prosperity is an ideal situation in which everybody wins. Successful self-promotion aids in the achievement of these goals. As such, to Pragmatists, ideological satisfaction is not a substitute for monetary remuneration as, at the end of it all, what counts as the ultimate marker of success is the value created and expressed through the amount of money that people are willing

to pay for one's services and products (JD, JW, PX). For Pragmatists, self-promotion is a practical affair that naturally comes with the "job description" of being a musician (JD, NS, PX). To Pragmatists, engaging in it and expending resources to do it well is a clear sign of being serious about succeeding in the music industry (AF, JD, JW, NS, PX). Pragmatists are thus typically more organised and are more adept at marketing themselves than Purists are.

To Pragmatists, mastering self-promotion is key to controlling their reputation, growing their brand, and differentiating themselves from the competition. By presenting themselves well, audiences know what to expect from a musical product or service delivered by them. With effective self-promotion, Pragmatists can better target their audiences, tailor their programmes to suit their intended audiences, and set audience expectations so that the chances that audiences leave a performance satisfied are higher, thereby increasing the likelihood of their continued patronage (JD, NS, PX, TG). Pragmatists also perceive effective self-promotion to be doing audiences a favour as without it, audiences might not even come across music that they did not realise they were looking for in the first place (JD, PX). Over time, effective self-promotion grows an artist's brand and increases their following, thereby increasing their value (JD, PX, NS). As their value increases, so does their ability to control the prices they fetch as well as the terms of their business engagements (JD, PX). In this way, effective self-promotion is perceived as a duty by Pragmatists not only

to themselves but also to their entire network of audiences and collaborators (JD, PX). Ideally, audiences attending Pragmatist events are to feel like they are getting their money's worth in terms of entertainment and production value and musicians working with Pragmatists should feel that they are being paid and treated fairly (PX, TG).

Engaging in effective self-promotion means that Pragmatists communicate the value of their brand well so that current prices can be justified or increased, thereby increasing prosperity for themselves and their network (PX). To Pragmatists, a higher price is justified because their products and services are desired more than others. "Objective proof" (PX) of their value lies in the money and fame they have garnered – if money and fame is not garnered, the value of their work is up for debate. They are therefore more likely to show how high their songs have ranked on music charts and which famous brands they have worked with on their websites and social media pages than adopters of other networking styles might (JD, NS, PX). The idea is that if they are trusted by famous brands, they are reliable and deserving of a higher asking price than someone who has not worked with famous brands – association with other high-value brands increases one's value (JD, NS, PX). To achieve that level of brand association, Pragmatists present themselves not only as classy and luxurious, but also as relatable and likeable. To remain accessible and likeable, they typically include personal anecdotes and other things that help others relate to them better on their websites and promotional materials. In

that way, they can distinguish themselves from others while getting people to like them at the same time. Those who neglect it are perceived as unambitious and unprofessional musicians who are not serious about success enough to learn how to do it properly and thereby excluded.

Effective self-promotion is thus of utmost importance to Pragmatists and is a cornerstone of their ethos as it increases their value through differentiating them from the sheer amount of competition they perceive to be facing in the market (JD). As such, Pragmatists typically invest far more into learning and doing self-promotion than Purists and are generally much more adept at it than adopters of the other three genre ideals, whose websites and promotional materials usually look basic compared to those of Pragmatists. Thus, unlike the Purists, Pragmatists do not see self-promotion as time and effort that could be better spent on practising one's instrument or improving their craft. Compared to the Purists, Pragmatists embrace self-promotion as something positive – almost like an art or craft in itself (JD, AW, JW, AF, YZ). Pragmatists see self-promotion as something positive in that it benefits musicians by helping musicians identify and grow their audiences while reaching out to audiences who are genuinely looking for products such as theirs (PX, JC, AW). In fact, almost everything can count as self-promotion. Charity work and posting about personal life events can be justified in terms of business and monetary gain (AW, JC, JD, PX). For instance, association with charitable work and an "authentic" image portrayed through

social media distinguishes one from others and improves one's brand, thereby allowing one to leverage upon that brand in the future to raise prices by distinguishing themselves from the competition (JD, PX).

> Thus, self-promotion is of paramount importance for Pragmatists and a key means through which they can be identified. Those that are not willing to both put in the time and effort to acquire the skills and knowledge required of them to succeed in the industry are excluded on the basis of not wanting to succeed and thereby lowering the value of everybody else they are associated with (JW, AF, NS, TG). Socio-economic boundaries are thus drawn against such "unprofessional" musicians who are deemed to be lowering the market value of all musicians through, for instance, performing at unacceptable rates, presenting themselves sloppily, and being tardy. In this way, the adoption of the Pragmatist genre ideal shapes the networking styles of its adopters.

Cross-Genre Collaboration: Self-Distinction

By collaborating with members of other communities[11], Pragmatists can differentiate themselves from "the competition" (JD, PX). Collaboration with Purists could help Pragmatists increase their value as Purists tend to be not only elusive but also skilful – a combination of attributes that could increase the prices of

[11] "Cross-genre collaboration" refers to instances of Pragmatists forming performance ties with members of communities. In terms of musicological genres, this could mean collaboration with practitioners of others genres or sub-genres. See the next chapter for details on the various "worlds" whose boundaries are sustained by the enactment of the four ideal-typical genre ideals identified in this chapter.

performances provided Pragmatists can “get through” to the Purists they want to collaborate with (JD). Collaboration with Collectivists could also help Pragmatists in the sense that they are able to improve their public image through gaining moral credibility as Collectivists tend to be in service of a moral or social cause (AW, JC). Through collaborating outside of their “world”, Pragmatists can improve their brand and potentially increase their value over time.

In this way, Pragmatists view cross-genre collaboration as a way of growing their audience base and for product differentiation. According to Singaporean “jazz chanteuse” (Yusof, 2022) Joanna Dong:

> Cross-genre collaborations, again, are a very practical way of growing your audiences. Again, back to the whole music entrepreneurship (thing), it is … one of the most useful ways to grow an audience … . We wanna tell people that music has no boundaries, music brings the world together… You know, music unites us, it does not divide us… It’s not all bullshit but it’s also… a lot of marketing spiel. *laughs*
>
> (JD, vocalist, 31-40 years old)

The excerpt above demonstrates the practical way in which cross-genre collaborations are approached by Pragmatists. The self-reflexive way JD describes her views on cross-genre collaboration belies a realist disposition that is neither completely idealistic nor completely cynical. In the excerpt above, JD opines that the idea that “music has no boundaries” is propagated to soften the fact that cross-genre collaborations “are a very practical way of growing … audiences” and, consequently, earning more money and fame for her. Pragmatists are well

aware of both the need to earn money and fame as well as the need to play down the goal of earning money and fame so as appear relatable and not greedy or exploitative (AW, JC, JD, PX, TG). The idea that music magically unites people is something that is agreeable across gender, ethnic, and generational lines. Propagating such an idea helps increase one's likeability across genres, thereby increasing one's reach and thereby one's value.

Thus, cross-genre collaborations are perceived by Pragmatists as a means of audience development and self-distinction. Collaboration with someone who is a member of a community that one is not a part of potentially increases the amount of people who are exposed to the work of all parties involved in the cross-genre collaborative project while also potentially allowing Pragmatists to differentiate themselves from others who can only perform in one style or genre (AF, JD, JW, NS, PX, TG, TW, YZ). Exposure to more audiences generally means potentially earning more money and therefore increasing one's value, which in turn allows one to be in a better position to be able to help others increase their value so that they, too, can prosper – something that potentially also benefits Pragmatists themselves in the future (JD, PX). In the case of jazz, Pragmatists agree that while the label carries a lot of weight, it also carries prestige (JD, PX). Jazz/pop music collaborations are thus potentially beneficial to stakeholders on both sides because, in the same way Pragmatists collaborate with Purists, jazz

musicians can access the fame and reach of pop musicians while pop musicians can access the prestige of jazz musicians (JD).

However, to Pragmatists, the ability of cross-genre collaborations to product differentiate is a function of how much those engaging in it deserve to be seen as authentic members of the genre communities involved in any given cross-genre collaboration (JD). Pragmatists tend to use this sort of "industrial" (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) justification, that is, a justification in which merit earned through effort justifies action, to evaluate the effectiveness of cross-genre collaborations:

> I think, to my credit, … even though I'm not a *great* jazz singer, … why whatever I'm doing works and why it is being supported by other people in the scene is because they know (that I'm legit) … I didn't like "come from the other way", meaning, I wasn't like a pop singer and decided "Oh it's kinda sexy to have this jazz label and then go and like do some jazz, like, 'Fly Me To The Moon'" and then call myself a jazz singer. … I authentically came from the scene. People knew me in the scene, like I'm not pretending. *I've done my time*. I've spent my years at the jam sessions, they all know me, and I know everybody by name… … I'm maybe not the most well versed in my jazz history, but it's not like I don't know shit right? So I do know (a bit)… like when people are playing an instrumental standard, … I can sing the head. It's not like I only know the Fly Me To The Moons, and I only know Girl From Ipanemas… So I think these things give me just enough credibility to gain the respect of people within the industry and so they consider me their own, whereas *wags finger* I don't want to name names, but there are other singers.. locally… who have appropriated the jazz label. They say "oh… I'm singing pop-jazz" or "I'm singing jazz" but we're like, "Where did you come from?? How is it that we don't know you??" *laughs*
>
> (JD, vocalist, 31-40 years old)

In the excerpt above, JD ruminates on why she has succeeded in recruiting in-demand sessionists for her "jazz-pop" (JD) performances

over the years and why she believes these elite sessionists – some of whom are Purists – generally do not collaborate with some of her peers. To her understanding, she believes that it is because she, unlike her peers, “authentically came from the scene” in that she put in the time and effort to learn about jazz music and familiarise herself with the culture by going out to the jam sessions. Through these actions, she believes she accumulated “just enough credibility to gain the respect of the people within the industry” for them to consider her as “one of their own”. In doing so, she feels that she has garnered enough credibility to be able to claim the jazz label for herself, with the proof of this claim discernible in how she is familiar with the melodies of “instrumental standards”, that is, jazz standards with no lyrics, and jazz songs that are less popular than “Fly Me To The Moon” and “Girl From Ipanema” – songs which do not serve as markers of credibility to many jazz musicians by virtue of them being overplayed non-jazz musicians and their popularity among non-jazz audiences.

As such, through her efforts, JD feels that she deserves to be able to claim the jazz label for herself and thereby engage in cross-genre collaborations not as an outsider solely attempting to exploit the genre for their own personal gain but as an insider to both the pop and jazz worlds looking to create something new. JD explains that because she had already put in the work and sincerely wanted to learn how to be a jazz musician by regularly going to jazz jam sessions, doing jazz performances, and hanging out with jazz musicians long before her younger counterparts began their careers, she deserves to have the

access to the jazz community and to use the jazz label without committing the sin of, in her own terms, “cultural appropriation” (JD), as she has accused others of doing. Indeed, as evident in the excerpt above, JD repeatedly claims to belong to the jazz “scene” with statements like “I authentically came from the scene” and by referring to herself as a member of the jazz community by using “we” in “Where did you come from?? How is it that we don’t know you??”.

This idea of “deserving” to claim the jazz genre label belies the “industrial” form of justification (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) underpinning the Pragmatist ethos represented in the idea that some people do not deserve their success because they did not achieve it through their own merit (AF, JD, NS, YZ). In Dong’s eyes, she deserves the success she has derived from cross-genre collaboration because she put in the work to use the jazz label and represent the genre as “authentically” as possible in a pop context (JD). Indeed, in her view, the fact that she manages cross-genre collaboration effectively is a big reason why jazz musicians with high eigenvector centrality like her musical director Chok Kerong, bassist Ben Poh, guitarist Andrew Lim, and drummer Yap Ting Wei work with her and not with other singers who “appropriate” the jazz label for themselves without knowing anything about the genre (JD). In her view, such collaborations would not work out as audiences, especially jazz audiences, would be able to tell that said person does not understand jazz at all, thereby resulting in a failed collaboration in which all parties do not benefit as the profit motive is then rendered too obvious (JD). Pragmatists feel that when

the profit motive is the only reason that musicians are engaging in the performance, it is rendered too obvious, thereby decreasing likeability and relatability as it looks like the only reason the cross-genre collaboration happened in the first place was to exploit audiences from both sides (JD, PX). Cross-genre collaboration is thus assessed to have been done well when audiences and musicians of the genres being bridged do not feel like they are being exploited and if they are entertained by performances resulting from the cross-genre collaboration (JD, JW, TW, TG). Cross-genre collaborations, while welcomed by Pragmatists, are limited in their effectiveness by the perceived authenticity and coherence of the collaboration by musicians and audiences. As such, to Pragmatists, time and effort invested in learning about another genre can be justified in terms of self-distinction that potentially increases their value in the long run.

Exclusivity and Elitism: Ambivalent

Pragmatists are ambivalent towards the idea that jazz is elitist. To Pragmatists, while jazz's exclusivity works to improve jazz's legitimacy as a genre and lends its prestige, it also works to drive audiences away from the genre (JD, PX). On the one hand, Pragmatists are aware that being associated with jazz grants them legitimacy and lends an aura of sophistication to themselves and their work (JD). On the other hand, they are aware that being associated with jazz and its rich heritage and traditions leaves them open to accusations of cultural

appropriation and misrepresentation (JD). Jazz's exclusive and elite reputation as a genre of music is therefore not inherently a problem for Pragmatists but more like something to be managed (JD, PX). By controlling the nature of their association with jazz music, Pragmatists can extract the prestige from it while not being burdened by the identity politics and the historical and ideological baggage that comes with association with the genre (JD, PX). Pragmatists thus seek to manage the depth and nature of their association with jazz music in such a way that allows them access to elite musicians and to bolster their claim to the genre while still being accessible to "external" audiences (JD, PX).

This ambivalent attitude towards the use of "jazz" as a genre label and jazz's exclusivity can be seen in the following excerpt where vocalist Joanna Dong reflects on how using elite jazz musicians –of whom many are Purists – "legitimises" her claims to the jazz genre label which, in turn, differentiates her from not only other pop singers but also other singers who claim the jazz label without having the same kind of access she has to elite jazz musicians.

> The selfish part (of using elite jazz musicians in my performances) … is that it legitimises my claim to the jazz label. By collaborating with "real" jazz artists like (Chok) Kerong, like Wei(xiang Tan), like Jeremy (Monteiro), it legitimises me. That's the honest truth. Do I feel a lil' sheepish about that? Yes, but at the same time, … it is … pragmatic. I do try and see it as I'm also trying to make them more visible to mainstream audiences because.. *honestly*, left to their own devices, they would not

> bother (to market themselves) *shakes head*. … They don't know how to do it! *laughs* They don't know how to, like, make themselves more visible, like, their social media game is… shit.
>
> (JD, vocalist, 31-40 years old)

In this excerpt, JD explains that she is aware that her recruitment of elite jazz musicians might be construed as a "selfish" endeavour by some. As someone who is aware that she is using these elite jazz musicians as a means of self-distinction which helps her to earn more money than her peers due to the increased scarcity of her musical performances brought about by the added "authenticity" her use of these musicians brings, JD feels "sheepish". As such, JD is torn about jazz's exclusivity and elite status as, on the one hand, it allows her to raise her prices while, on the other hand, it does not financially benefit the jazz musicians whose work she respects. As Purists with an aversion to marketing resulting from a specific interpretation of jazz's genre ideals, the jazz musicians she respects are the very ones making jazz exclusive through their aversion to self-promotion ("their social media game is shit"), with the elusiveness and exclusivity of their "authentic" jazz music something that a Pragmatist like her is benefiting from. Hence, JD is torn because jazz's exclusivity benefits her in a way that does not benefit the jazz musicians – something that she is trying to alleviate through hiring them and allowing them as much leeway as possible to "do their thing", that is, be as authentically themselves, as her musicians. This transactional approach is evident in the reciprocity she perceives between herself and these musicians: They play music they would not normally play and present themselves

in ways they would not normally present themselves to help her out while she, in exchange, helps them achieve a level of public visibility that they would not normally achieve as she feels that they are, as her use of the term “shit” suggests, no good at online self-promotion and would not be able to promote themselves even if they tried.

This transactional approach to claiming the jazz label for herself belies the realist disposition that defines the Pragmatist networking style. For Pragmatists, being associated with jazz has its pros and cons (JD, PX). On the one hand, they get to differentiate themselves from their counterparts in the pop field as people who are more sophisticated and musically legitimate (AW, JD, PX). On the other hand, the jazz label comes with the heavy burden of cultural responsibility as a genre that is taken seriously by many in the musical community and around the world. As such, association with jazz might render them inaccessible to audiences that they might be trying to reach. As self-described “pop-jazz” acts, both JD and PX are wary of overstepping their boundaries with jazz music and accidentally falling into the trap of “cultural appropriation” (JD, PX). This burden of cultural responsibility is manifested in acknowledging the sanctity of jazz when appending the jazz genre label to their performance descriptions and biographies. Not managing this burden of cultural responsibility potentially renders their efforts to use jazz to product differentiate futile or even potentially harmful to their reputations as relatable pop singers.

Thus, as seen in the way Pragmatists talk about jazz as a genre label and jazz's exclusivity, I once again observe socioeconomic boundaries being drawn by Pragmatists against those who are not able to "authentically" manage and harness the prestige of the jazz genre label – a label that comes with the burden of cultural responsibility that, if not managed properly, can come back to bite them in the future if they are perceived to be "selfishly" "appropriating" the genre. Potential consequences of misappropriating the jazz genre label include the curtailment of access to elite jazz musicians by getting labelled by jazz musicians as an imposter who is appropriating the genre for selfish profit without any kind of benefit to anybody else in the community or in society as well as getting abandoned by both the pop and jazz audiences that Pragmatists are attempting to reach as their "pop-jazz" product does resonate with the evaluative criteria of each community and fails to gain traction in either.

The Collectivist Genre Ideal: Selflessness and Egalitarianism

Boundaries Drawn: Moral (II)

Collectivists are the "cultural evangelists" (Griswold & Wohl, 2015) of jazz music. From the Collectivists' point of view, the Purist ethos in which the worthy are assessed by whether

they have put in the hard work to deserve inclusion strays from the fundamental ideals of jazz music – an egalitarian music which should strive for inclusion rather than the exclusion and elitism that they perceive the Purist ethos to be about (AS, RM). As such, while moral standards of exclusion are also adopted by Collectivists, they are enacted differently than with the Purists with selflessness prioritised in place of self-actualisation.

Apropos jazz improvisation, Becker (2000), identifies two opposing poles in a spectrum of situations with the first pole – the "conventional setting" – working "on the basis of an etiquette that recognizes and maintains a formal ideology of equality of status" and the second, opposing pole - the "experimental setting" – referring to situations "whose etiquette requires recognition of differentials in the contribution made to the collective effort" (p. 176). If Purists can be conceived of as subscribing to the latter form of jazz etiquette, that is, the form in which "special status" is bestowed upon "people who make special contributions to the collective effort" and in which an imperative to give "priority to what … works and … short shrift to what doesn't, and not be polite about it" (p. 174), then Collectivists can be conceived of as enacting the former form of jazz etiquette – the "conventional" form in which the "myth of equality" (p. 172) in which everybody's contribution to the performance is treated as equal and non-musician audiences are "granted equal status" by the musicians who abide by "the

etiquette of not-going-beyond-what-is-commonly-known" (p. 174) during performances. Egalitarianism is accordingly enacted differently by Purists and Collectivists, with egalitarianism enacted by Purists through not upholding the "myth of equality" so that everybody including the audience gets an equal chance to "authentically" learn and grow while, on the other hand, egalitarianism is enacted in the Collectivist "world" by upholding this "myth of equality" so that nobody is unnecessarily embarrassed or demeaned.

Collectivists enact this "conventional jazz etiquette" not only in jazz performances they organise and perform at but also in their networking practices through their drawing of moral boundaries against those perceived to be selfish and snobbish, that is, people who do not abide by "conventional jazz etiquette" in dismissing musicians who they deem to not be able to play jazz well and audiences who do not understand jazz as unworthy (AS, AW, EW, JC, FP, DH, RM). To Collectivists, the Purist ethos potentially engenders a toxic and elitist environment which not only causes strife and in-fighting among jazz musicians but also leads to the irrelevance and, ultimately, the death of the jazz genre (AS, DH). They believe that if efforts are not taken to make jazz more accessible to non-jazz audiences and relevant to contemporary society, jazz will cease to be a form of music capable of effecting positive social change and that the jazz community will no longer be the vibrant, healthy community that

they would like to be a part of (AS, DH). As such, they endeavour to correct this culture through emphasising the “aggressively egalitarian” (Becker, 2000, p. 172) aspects of jazz music.

Those that do not share Collectivists’ inclusive and egalitarian view of what relations within the jazz community and between it and other genre communities should be like are excluded. Collectivists draw moral boundaries against those who are deemed too exclusive and snobbish as those perceived to possess such character traits are seen to be acting according to their own self-interests, thereby contributing to the detriment of the jazz community and its ultimate demise (AS, DH). Collectivists want to grow or, rather, regrow the genre in a certain way and therefore work hard to emphasise what they perceive to be the positive aspects of the genre while downplaying the negative aspects of the genre to both internal and external audiences (AS, DH, RM, RS, WX). To Collectivists, for jazz to stay alive, jazz needs to step down from the pedestal that it has been placed upon and embrace its roots as both a form of entertainment and a form of popular resistance (AS, AZ, DH, RS, WX). For this to happen, Collectivists feel that jazz needs to be more entertaining and participatory to non-jazz musicians and audiences while the jazz community needs to be more united than it currently is (AS, AW, DH, EW). Collectivists work to be a positive example to others in the jazz community with these goals in mind. A central challenge, however, for Collectivists is in

negotiating the tension between making jazz accessible while maintaining the standards of aesthetic quality and authenticity that have elevated jazz above other forms of popular music in terms of the levels of formal recognition it has received.

Relationship with Music: Advocacy

Collectivists are those most like “cultural evangelists”, that is, those who are “fighting at the frontline of culture to convert people” to their cause (Griswold & Wohl, 2015). In the case of jazz, Collectivists do the work of “cultural evangelism” in their quest to promote jazz music and culture to revive the jazz community which, in their view, will die or cease to exist as they would like it if things do not change (AS, DH, FP). As such, they have vested interests in bringing together segments of the jazz community and connecting them with the wider music community, purporting to do so from a place of wanting to share their love for the genre with others (AS, DH, EW, FP, ND, RS, RM). This attitude towards being a jazz musician is informed largely by the sense of an impending threat to the jazz community from within and without (AS, DH, ND). They generally feel that jazz is a victim of its own critical success in that it is no longer as accessible and therefore no longer as relevant to society as it once was (FP, RS, RM). Collectivists feel that as non-jazz audiences are repeatedly shunned or ignored by increasingly elitist and snobbish jazz musicians, the jazz genre community

becomes more and more irrelevant, thereby ultimately leading to its death as a genre and a community (AS, DH, FP, RS, RM). As members of this community who feel the need to rescue and revive the genre and its community from the throes of snobbery and elitism, Collectivists opt community-building as a central justification for their musical involvement, thereby eschewing the ideology of individual self-improvement and aesthetic revolution central to the Purist ethos in favour of an ethos revolving around collective improvement and community-building (AS, AZ, FP, ND, WX).

Collectivists feel that jazz is dying and are working to prevent that from happening by putting jazz back on the right path – the path to long-term survival as a genre. By working to eliminate or contain negative aspects of jazz culture, Collectivists work towards improving the genre's public reputation through organising or participating in grassroots initiatives to bring jazz to people who would otherwise not be exposed to jazz music and culture to learn about and appreciate jazz music (AS, DH, JC, RS, RM, WX). They believe that jazz is inaccessible not because jazz music is difficult. Rather, they feel that if audiences had the wherewithal to be able to appreciate jazz music, they would be able to do so easily (AS, RM). As pianist Aya Sekine opines, "the right kind of inspiration is not given to everybody" in Singapore, resulting in many otherwise promising musicians and enthusiastic audiences avoiding jazz music (AS).

As such, for Collectivists, the fault does not lie with audiences but the system for failing to provide the resources to audiences to appreciate such a beautiful and important genre of music as jazz and to foster a “creative environment” (AS) in which jazz music can thrive as a public good deserving of patronage from public, diplomatic, or non-governmental organisations such as embassies, the UN, and government ministries. Drummer Rafaee Mahmood, for instance, cites the education system in the US as a key factor responsible for what he perceives to be the thriving status of jazz music there. According to him, through the education system, Americans are exposed to jazz music and culture from a young age, thereby resulting in less people finding jazz inaccessible because they have already had the exposure to the music. According to him, better exposure to jazz music and culture through the education system results in a healthier jazz ecosystem and higher levels of musicianship in general (RM). To make up for the failure of the Singapore system to provide the resources to audiences to appreciate jazz music, Collectivists like RM and AS take it upon themselves to work towards educating audiences and organising grassroots events in the spirit of jazz advocacy, thereby sowing the seeds of jazz literacy among the Singaporean public and “futureproofing” the genre.

Self-Promotion: Imperative (II)

The acquisition and implementation of knowledge about online self-promotion tactics is justified in the name of helping the genre survive. For Collectivists, self-promotion is perceived as a duty to the genre – a duty to both themselves and the jazz community to advocate for jazz's accessibility in Singapore. In their view, nobody would be able to understand jazz music if one did not give them a chance, so one cannot blame the public for jazz's increased irrelevance (AS, DH, RM). Rather, Collectivists feel that the jazz musicians themselves are equally to blame for not taking the time to give their audiences a chance to understand jazz's beauty and appeal (AS, DH, RM). Self-promotion is thus a means through which jazz can be understood by audiences as through self-promotion, the audience can be primed to appreciate jazz music.

As such, through their events and online self-presentation, Collectivists seek to make jazz a more inclusive and approachable genre by portraying themselves and the jazz community in general as a welcoming, approachable, friendly, and conducive community for learning about jazz music and culture and improving one's musicianship (AS, DH, ND, RM, WX). By increasing their online presence, they seek to increase audiences' awareness of jazz music and propagate their idea of jazz as an inclusive form of music. In doing so, they combat what

they perceive to be toxic aspects of jazz culture that are detrimental to the community and attempt to grow the community by reining in audiences and musicians that would have otherwise been intimidated by the jazz community (AS, DH, RM). By learning how to market themselves better, there is a higher chance that Collectivists will be able to get their message of jazz goodwill across to people. In fact, not engaging in effective self-promotion online and on social media would be selfish as it would portray jazz musicians as aloof and arrogant (AS, DH, RM). Collectivists thus see it as their duty to learn about self-marketing and acquire other forms of non-musical skills and knowledge such as business and management skills so that they can not only better achieve their goals and have more control over the production process but also help other musicians do the same while simultaneously educating audiences about jazz history, culture, and showing them how much work goes into making music (AS, ND, RM, WX). In this way, investing time and effort into learning and doing self-promotion at the expense of getting better at music is justified to Collectivists in terms of duty to the community – a “civic” form of justification that defines the Collectivist ethos in which individual motives are justified in terms of benefits to the larger collective to which one belongs (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006).

Through self-promotion, Collectivists aim to send a message about jazz to both “insiders” (jazz musicians and

discerning audiences) and “outsiders” (non-jazz musicians and audiences unfamiliar with jazz music) (AS, DH, RM). To make jazz appear more inclusive, they draw attention to positive aspects of jazz music and culture when promoting themselves, their work, and the genre. In doing so, they foster a culture of egalitarianism not only between insiders and outsiders to the community but also among members of the community in which hierarchies are flat (AS, DH, RM). As such, the value that best defines the Collectivist ethos is egalitarianism – a value that they believe to be central to jazz culture. In self-promotion, Collectivists make sure to avoid making normative judgments about the competency of the musicians involved in the performance or the complexity of the music. Collectivists avoid statements like “Musician X is the best saxophonist in the region”, opting instead to highlight admirable personality traits of the musicians they adore. Much of their self-promotion also involves sharing about the joys of practising or listening to jazz music, the positive physical and psychological health effects of learning and playing jazz, and other kinds of educational content for newcomers (AS, WX, RM). As such, they are more likely to promote “Musician X” by saying that “Musician X’s approach brings to mind saxophone masters such as the great Sonny Rollins and Coleman Hawkins from whom we can all learn”, with this reverence for the greats a means of enacting egalitarianism as everyone including “Musician X” are all of equal status before the masters of old (AS,

AZ, ND, EW). By avoiding statements that imply that one musician is better than another, Collectivists draw attention to the centrality of egalitarianism – the idea that everyone is of equal status regardless of their background – as a virtue in jazz by denying or drawing attention away from hierarchies based on musical and cultural competence (AS, DH, EW, RM).

Thus, regarding self-promotion, Collectivists differ from the Purists and Pragmatists. As compared to Purists, Collectivists, despite also drawing moral boundaries, are willing to invest the time and energy to learn how to promote themselves as they see it as a duty to the genre while Purists cannot really be bothered to do so. As compared to Pragmatists, the brand associations are less associations with big-money brands like Apple or BMW and more associations with brands associated with humanitarian goals and causes such as NGOs or charities such as UN-related organisations or charities (AS, DH). Such brand associations reveal the kind of future Collectivists have in mind for jazz music: Collectivists believe that jazz music should be a force for positive change and would hate to see it become reduced to a status symbol or a commodity (AA, AS, AZ, DH, JC, ND). Thus, as seen by their attitudes towards self-promotion, Collectivists draw moral boundaries against those they perceive to be perpetuating elitism in jazz. By doing so, they aim to make sure jazz does not "lose its way" by drawing attention to its egalitarian and participatory aspects while downplaying its elitist and snobby

side. In the process, however, they implicitly draw boundaries against snobs and “tryhards”, that is, people perceived to be unnecessarily serious and competitive. Those with whom association will benefit the jazz community are included while those deemed to be rude, snobby, and elitist, are excluded. In this way, Collectivists feel that they can salvage jazz’s reputation as a genre of music that is losing its way to greed.

Cross-Genre Collaboration: Cultural Diplomacy

To Collectivists, cross-genre collaboration is a form of cultural diplomacy that helps bring together communities across genre boundaries that helps to counter the idea that jazz is insular and elitist[12]. To Collectivists, this is a means of bringing together segments of the jazz community that are not usually associated with each other (AS, DH, RM). Collaborating across segments of the jazz community is meant to strengthen the internal ties between parts of the jazz community that do not usually interact to promote unity and creativity within the community (AS). As such, cross-genre collaboration is a means through which Collectivists seek to improve jazz’s reputation and, by extension, its longevity by fostering ties between intra-community factions as well as between the jazz community and non-jazz communities.

[12] Cross-genre collaboration refers to both collaboration between jazz musicians and those of non-jazz genres.

The Collectivist predisposition for jazz advocacy positions them as the diplomats of the Singapore jazz musician community – mediators of otherwise disparate aspects of the jazz community as well as between the jazz community and other genre communities, with an instance of this seen in the pianist Aya Sekine's band, *The Jazz Djogets*, bridging pop, Malay folk, and various jazz sub-genres. Her signature event, *Ayaschool*, is a case of cross-genre collaboration used as a means of conducting such diplomacy and will thus be used a case study to illustrate Collectivists' attitude towards cross-genre collaboration.

Ayaschool

Promoting goodwill between segments of the jazz community and between jazz and non-jazz musicians was exactly the goal behind pianist Aya Sekine's long-time residency at popular jazz venue *Blujaz Café*, *Ayaschool*, a more or less weekly event that she used to curate at the aforementioned venue that began in 2006 and lasted until the venue lost its entertainment license in 2018. According to her, *Ayaschool* was a "Bitches Brew kinda thing"[13] (AS) in which musical experiments in the form of seemingly random groupings of musicians who were not usually associated with each other would be called upon to improvise music on the spot for the entire duration of the night. Aya states that *Ayaschool* always "pushed the edge" and "stirred up the

[13] "Bitches Brew" is a reference to an album recorded in 1970 by famed trumpeter Miles Davis. In this album, Davis experiments with stylistic fusion through not thoroughly arranging his music, instead instructing his musicians to improvise over loose and vague guidelines while giving cues on-the-go.

music community” when it used to happen at Blujaz Café (We Love Jazz, 2019). According to her, such events are good for the “ecosystem” (AS) as they break the boundaries between the various disparate segments of the jazz community, resulting in the spontaneous production of exciting and fresh music.

The most recent incarnation of *Ayaschool* at the time of sampling was in 2019 where the event was packaged as a “Jungle Jam” as part of a *We Love Jazz* New Year event, with *We Love Jazz* being the organisation that Sekine and her colleagues created in 2016 specifically for jazz advocacy in Singapore. I provide an abridged description of this “Jungle Jam” event here:

What is *Ayaschool*?

Ayaschool is a [sic] pianist/improvisor Aya Sekine's signature collective improvisations series which has started [sic] way back in 1997 as an initiative to experiment in music. The content evolved over the years but as each program pushed the edge, it has always [sic] stirred up the music community wherever, whenever Ayaschool happened. In 2006 it became an official weekly series at Blu Jaz Cafe, where she handpicked musicians adventurously to match-make, encompassing the genre … . It is an extremely exciting yet inclusive (event) – adheres strictly to 2 core principles; listening & making music on the spot.

and what is *Jungle Jam*?

Ayaschool has had many different themes and focuses but 'Jungle Jam', was created to involve larger group [sic] for collective improvisations. In this series rather than handpicking Aya makes an open-call and **welcomes anyone** who is willing to take part. It focuses on how large groups of enthusiasts from diverse background [sic] can function to create/present music on the spot 'together'

…

'I don't have any experience in this…'

FRET NOT.

> You don’t need to be a Jazz musician. You don’t need to be an experienced improviser, you don’t have to know any songs! All you need to do is (to be) willing to listen, and be ready to let the music to [sic] come alive and grow – it's about the process. Let’s see what music will be like in the end!
>
> (We Love Jazz, 2019; emphases not mine)

What is interesting about this excerpt is in what it does not say. Aspects considered negative to Collectivists such as toxic competitiveness among jazz musicians and the internal fragmentation of the jazz community are strategically concealed from external audiences at Collectivist events in the hopes of improving jazz’s public image. From the get-go of the event description, Sekine makes sure to highlight that the event is “inclusive”. Further emphasising the inclusivity of the event, she then makes sure to mention that participants “don’t need to be a Jazz musician”, “an experienced improviser”, or “know any songs”, essentially making sure that audiences are clear that the event literally “welcomes anyone” regardless of their previous exposure to jazz music. By putting so much emphasis on the inclusivity and participatory aspect of the event, AS implicitly critiques other collective improvisation settings in jazz by suggesting that they exclude those with lower levels of musical and cultural competence. As evident from the excerpt above, her event seeks to promote inclusivity and respect between musicians through the practice of spontaneous collective improvisation. Through such an event, jazz values such as egalitarianism are promoted and advocated while musicians and

audiences who participate get a first-hand experience of the collective effervescence that participation in such an event can bring (AS). Musicians are brought together and audiences are educated through being offered the opportunity to observe spontaneous improvisation – something Collectivists deem to be the essence of jazz (AS, DH, EW, RM, WX) – in action, with the promotional materials for the event serving as a primer for unknowing but curious musicians and audiences.

In the process, jazz music is promoted as a genre that promotes values that are positive and beneficial to society. The argument AS is making through her event description is that in essence, jazz performance encapsulates a democratic ideal in which people of diverse backgrounds can get along to create something beautiful not in spite of but because of their personal differences, with jazz an ideal genre through which such an ideal of “unity in diversity” can be enacted (AS). To Collectivists, if jazz is done right, it can be a powerful symbol of peace that can help people understand democracy as an ideal form of societal co-existence. By experiencing ideal democracy through participating in collective improvisation, participants get to experience the beauty of jazz and democracy – something that Collectivists believe in (AS). AS frames *Ayaschool* as a ritual through which participants can viscerally experience the collective effervescence of jazz improvisation and the beauty of democratic coexistence. Indeed, as an organisation whose ideals resonate

with those of the US embassy owing to their shared belief in democracy, AS's organisation *We Love Jazz* worked with the US embassy to help coordinate the Singapore chapter of the US embassy's *American Music Abroad* program, hosting and promoting several American groups in Singapore as a partner-in-democracy as well as to provide entertainment at embassy events such as lunch receptions (We Love Jazz, 2021).

Thus, evidently from the analysis of *Ayaschool's* final iteration in Singapore[14], Collectivists promote cross-genre collaboration to showcase the inclusive and participatory aspect of jazz music, thereby enacting their genre ideals for jazz as a genre that symbolises goodwill between people of differing backgrounds. In the process, they implicitly critique the practices of jazz musicians who they feel are promoting a culture of elitism through their exclusionary practices. As AS states in her description of her *Ayaschool* concept above, *Ayaschool* has "stirred up the music community" and that the event involves musical "match-making" that "encompasses the genre" of jazz (AS). From such statements, it is clear that Collectivists like her are attempting to bridge internal divisions within the jazz community through events such as *Ayaschool* as they believe that it is through shaking up these internal divisions that jazz can survive and thrive as a creative art form (AS, DH). In their view,

[14] In July 2021, *We Love Jazz* shut down operations as a non-profit organisation. As of December 2022, pianist Aya Sekine has since ceased to be a resident of Singapore. There have thus been no more iterations of *Ayaschool* since the one here analysed.

collaboration across jazz's internal segments leads to higher levels of creativity and prevents jazz from getting stale as their worry is that if jazz musicians become more and more insular, ideas are not cross-pollinated, thereby resulting in the increased irrelevance and esotericism of the genre as it folds in on itself (AS, DH, FP, WX). Cross-genre collaboration to Collectivists is a means of spreading the message of jazz music to non-jazz musicians and audiences while simultaneously promoting goodwill among disparate segments of the jazz community. Collectivists primarily approach cross-genre collaboration as a means of conducting diplomacy between different genre communities in the hopes of improving the future of the jazz community to which they belong. Cross-genre collaboration is, to Collectivists, a means of rejuvenating jazz music and keeping it relevant. Collectivist events that involve cross-genre collaboration are presented as diplomatic events – agorae in which representatives of jazz and non-jazz communities work together harmoniously for all to see and learn from.

Thus, as evident in their attitude to cross-genre collaboration, Collectivists draw moral boundaries against those they deem to be selfish, that is, those who put their interests above those of the community by being egoistic and snobby, while including those who they deem to be selfless, that is, those who put the community's interests above their self-interests, thereby insuring the jazz community against the effects of its

own critical success as they seek more people that can help advance their goal of preserving jazz music as a safe space for everyone to express themselves without fear of judgment or reproach.

Exclusivity and Elitism: Uncomfortable

Collectivists' raison d'être is to counter the image of jazz as elitist. Their whole ethos is about countering the idea that jazz is an exclusive genre only for the privileged and the elite few than can appreciate it and have the time to invest in it (AS, DH, JC, RS, RM). They do their best to play up jazz's collaborative and egalitarian aspect while simultaneously downplaying the elitist and exclusive aspect of the music and culture. As AS argues, "this whole making things exclusive thing … is an interpretation of certain people who want to be territorial" (AS). To be exclusive and "territorial" about who gets to be included into the jazz community is to put one's ego before the needs of the community. Such elitist conduct is perceived to be bad for the genre in the long run as it stifles creativity and turns people away from the music, making its music practitioners more likely to become "dinosaurs" (AA, AS, DH, RM), that is, for the music to transition into a predominantly "Traditionalist" phrase (Lena, 2012; Lena & Peterson, 2008) where the music and its practitioners are no longer relevant to any kind of scene or industry and where the genre is perceived more as a form of

music and culture to be preserved as an historical artifact in schools and museums. As Collectivists see jazz as a living, breathing genre that should be flexible enough to be relevant while maintaining just enough authenticity for it to be coherent, the last thing they want is for jazz to “preach to the converted”, that is, to become a closed circle only appreciated by those that already appreciate it.

However, pushing for a more participatory jazz ethos centred around the twin values of spontaneity and egalitarianism can have negative effects as Collectivist events may sometimes be perceived as overly didactic. For instance, Collectivists are big on jam session as these sessions are used by Collectivists to emphasise jazz’s spontaneous and egalitarian nature. During such regularly occurring Collectivist-leaning jam sessions as *The Blue Monks Jazz Jam* or *Ayaschool*, non-jazz musicians or lesser-known jazz musicians who are not as well-versed in jazz improvisation might deliberately be programmed to perform unrehearsed, “anything goes” kind of collective improvisations. Such interventions might result in Collectivists’ music and events sounding and looking inauthentic, “random”, haphazard, and sloppy by the standards of others who either do not understand what is going on or do not agree with the direction Collectivists are taking as such. A participatory ethos combined with an agenda for pushing egalitarianism and spontaneous improvisation, for instance, may therefore not go down with well

with Purists or Pragmatists. Purists might feel that Collectivists are trying to “evangelise” and expand the community at the cost of the integrity of the music and the culture while Pragmatists might feel that Collectivists are lowering the market value of jazz by not being meticulous about how it is presented.

As such, Collectivists need to balance the paradoxical demands of making jazz inclusive while maintaining standards of musical integrity that keep the genre coherent. Regarding the potentially paradoxical need to preserve jazz’s integrity as a genre while keeping it as accessible as possible, AS feels like it’s her job to “hand over” the genre to newer members of the community rather than “protect” the community against intruders and imposters. In her view, jazz is like “an endangered species” for whom the responsibility of care needs to be shared across the community – something that she feels will automatically take place if she is able to demonstrate to others why jazz means so much to her. In her words:

> I feel like it’s my job to hand over (the music). Not protect (it)! It’s more like (it’s) a little bit (like an) endangered species, so I guess (we can see it as) handing over the knowledge and history… Yeah, so it’s exclusive in terms of knowing how great it is, but it’s a separate issue when people behave like it’s mine or “you’re wrong”, “you’re not entitled to play this or listen to this music”. That’s another problem. That’s like.. ego, like personal – some shit that’s not related to music.
>
> (AS, pianist, 41-50 years old)

This distinction between “handing over” the music as opposed to “protecting” it showcases the difference between the

Collectivist and Purist ethos. In invoking this distinction, AS distinguishes the kind of moral boundaries she draws from those of Purists. The idea of “handing over” the caretaking of an “endangered” genre differs from the idea of “protecting” an endangered species as, with the idea of “handing over” the music, Sekine does not assume that there is an external threat to “protect” the genre from, with the external threat perceived by ideal-typical Purists coming from society in the form of neoliberalist ideology and its proponents (AS). As with her image of jazz as an “endangered species” to be taken care of, Collectivists seek less to “protect” the genre from external threats or moral corruption than to pass on the responsibility of ensuring that the genre does not die as a result of *internal* factors (AS, DH, FP, WX). These differences in genre ideals underpin differences in the networking styles and network configurations of Collectivists and Purists with the former seeking to include as many outsiders as possible to sustain the relevance of the genre by “handing over” the responsibility of care of the genre to them and the latter seeking to preserve the genre by excluding outsiders to protect the genre from corruption by imposters who do not care about it. AS distances herself from the Purist ethos in using the imagery of “handing over” as opposed to “protecting” the genre, condemning the exclusionary approach of Purists as selfish by saying that such a “territorial”

approach has to do with “ego” or “some shit that’s not related to the music” (AS).

Hence, Collectivists draw moral boundaries against snobs as they are seen to be accelerating the death of jazz through selfishness and narcissism in only caring about themselves and not the benefit of the greater community.

The Eclectic Genre Ideal: Singularity and Discovery

Boundaries Drawn: Cultural

Eclectics see themselves as above the fray of boundary-work and genre politics. They prefer to do their own thing and avoid outwardly association with any camp or faction and find the idea of drawing boundaries ridiculous and unhealthy for artistry. In their view, drawing boundaries limits creativity by prematurely closing off opportunities for artistic discovery, inspiration, and exploration (TG, TO). They prefer association with people who can see the bigger picture and distance themselves from the politics occurring within the jazz community by avoiding overt association with any circle (TG, TO). By virtue of preferring association with open-minded people, Eclectics implicitly exclude those they perceive to be close-minded, one-dimensional, and prosaic. As opposed to Pragmatists looking to achieve socioeconomic success, Collectivists promoting jazz

advocacy and positive societal change, and Purists seeking self-actualisation and social justice, the Eclectics purport to be involved in music for the sheer joy of discovery and the fun of creating music.

The defining trait of Eclectics is thus curiosity, with their performances a means through which they can share the joy of creating original music with others. They generally distance themselves from rigid definitions of what jazz ought to look and sound like and do not see jazz as coming under existential threat or anything like that. Rather, they adopt a decidedly zen attitude in accepting that genres and their ideals and conventions change over time and that some people will be better able to accept this than others, with different people all serving different purposes in the great cycle of genre evolution. As such, they see themselves not as an agent of change but as a vessel through which the genre cycle takes place (GL, TM, TO).

Like the archetypal “cultural omnivore” (Peterson & Kern, 1996), Eclectics display an ability to appreciate all levels of taste *including* high-brow and avant-garde music on top of popular and folk music. They do not perceive a hierarchy of tastes and display catholic tastes that draw across seemingly random constellations of genres that cut across traditional high-brow, pop, and folk (Van Eijck & Lievens, 2008) lines. They observe conflicts from the side and prefer not to get too involved in them as they would like to

simply continue their musical journey of discovery with as little extra-musical interference as possible (DH, GL, NR, RS, RX, TG, TM, TO, YH).

This laissez-faire attitude adopted towards their involvement in jazz music belies an underlying “cultural laxity” (Lamont, 1992, pp. 114–127) among Eclectics. Lamont (ibid) observes that the Americans in her sample drew relatively “loosely bounded” cultural boundaries compared to the French in her sample, with “loosely bounded” referring to “the sharpness with which the categories that make up a classification system are defined” (p. 115). With “less consensus on what defines deviance and legitimate culture” (ibid), the kinds of cultural boundaries drawn by the Americans in Lamont’s sample are “weak boundaries” (ibid) compared to those drawn by the French in her sample with their “clearly coded and widely agreed upon systems for evaluating attitudes and practices” and “sharply defined” “classificatory codes … structured around rigid, bipolar, hierarchical oppositions” (ibid). Judging from their “cultural laxity” observed in the laissez-faire attitude adopted towards what should and should not belong in jazz or not and their preference to associate with people who are open-minded, I classify the kinds of boundaries that Eclectics draw as cultural boundaries as they are enacted in a way similar to how Lamont’s (ibid) Americans enact cultural boundaries.

With a classificatory scheme premised upon open-mindedness, however, Eclectics implicitly enact cultural boundaries against those who are not as open-minded as they are and who are less laissez-faire as they are about jazz's boundaries, rendering them "non-entities" (Zuckerman et al., 2003) in the eyes of adopters of all three other networking styles as their affiliation with any existing segment of the jazz world is non-existent or unclear. In other words, Eclectics draw boundaries against those who draw boundaries.

Relationship with Music: Curiosity and Discovery

Eclectics deny musical boundaries and like to keep things open and fresh. They are also likely to turn down gigs that they might perceive as getting in the way of their enjoyment of music and self-expression while accepting those that pique their curiosity (DH, GL, RX, TG, TM, TO, TW, YH). As such, Eclectics usually have portfolios that might seem random as is the case with saxophonist Timothy O'Dwyer who might be performing for a cabaret show one night while playing avant-garde free jazz on another (TO). Their open boundaries render them closest in similarity to the classic "cultural omnivore" (Peterson & Kern, 1996) in that they have the ability to appreciate all levels of arts and culture while still curating what they prefer to consume while not displaying outright snobbery or pretence. As such, Lena's

(2019) observation that “snobs are still snobs – they’re just not snobby anymore” (Lena, 2019, p. 117) rings true for Eclectics.

Their aesthetic mobility further likens them to cultural omnivores in that, on top of being able to appreciate a wide range of genres, they are also able to oscillate between different ways of appreciating music and are indifferent, that is, neither antagonistic nor sympathetic, towards the musicians subscribing to other genre ideals as they see other genre ideals adopted as valid “models” (TO) through which musicians can sustain themselves and their careers. To Eclectics, musicians should try everything for themselves first before saying that they like or dislike something (DH, TG, YH). Indeed, Eclectic respondents have been involved in the most diverse (both “sociologically” and “musicologically” speaking) array of projects and performances compared to adopters of the other networking styles. As such, they typically straddle different musical and artistic communities, albeit in a different way than the Pragmatists and Collectivists do.

A big part of being an Eclectic is looking at musical genres from a meta perspective. Eclectics speak of genres not from an emic perspective but from an etic perspective, that is, from the point of view of a detached outsider rather than from the perspective of an insider embroiled in the community’s politics. As compared to Purists and Collectivists, they do not explicitly identify as a member of any

community or faction. Eclectics do not anchor themselves in any genre, movement, sound, or place. An instance of this is saxophonist Greg Lyons explaining that he does not think about whether he sounds “London British” or “New York American” anymore. Instead, he states that he simply wants to create music and have the attitude of an “amateur”, that is, someone who is motivated purely by the love of music and not by anything else (GL, saxophonist, 61-70 years old).

> Eclectics are relatively easy-going with respect to their musical aesthetic compared to adopters of the other types and position themselves as above the fray of the music industry and the politics within the community. As such, they feel like their music does not have to prove anything. Eclectics are generally not invested in waging aesthetic revolution or engaging in identity politics (GL, TM) and generally do not advocate for any cause other than freedom in and of itself (TO). For this reason, they are not prominent members of the Singapore jazz musician community and exist on the periphery[15]. Rather than speak in abstract or grand terms such as changing society for the better or saving jazz music, they couch their justifications in more personal terms such as enjoyment, joy, and discovery (DH, TG, TM, TO, RX, YH). As such, they distance themselves from overtly political causes and do not seek to outrightly prove or change anything with their music. In fact, One might even think that they were not involved in any kind of boundary-work at all. However,

[15] See next chapter for further details on the network positions of Eclectics.

as with cultural omnivores, their open boundaries belie an underlying curation of who and what they are associated with through the tacit enactment of cultural boundaries. By stating that they are against the drawing of boundaries, Eclectics implicitly draw cultural boundaries against those they deem close-minded and one-dimensional for not wanting to explore the vast musical universe that lies before them. While they claim to not have anything against such people, Eclectics are unlikely to want to be involved in musical collaboration with people who are not or do not have the capacity to be as open-minded as them.

Self-Promotion: Signalling

For Eclectics, self-promotion is more of a signal to prospective collaborators regarding what kind of person or musician they are rather than it is a form of marketing (DH, GL, RS, TO). If anything, Eclectics' self-promotion signals to others they are unique and different and therefore cannot be easily categorised. In self-promotion, Eclectics prefer to let their work speak for itself and let other people generate their own labels for them rather than restricting themselves to self-imposed labels. As such, they typically describe themselves in genre-neutral terms such as "musician" as opposed to "jazz musician" and prefer to display their work without more description than deemed necessary so that those that patronise their websites can come to their own conclusions about them (GL, TG, TM, TO).

In doing so, they keep their genre affiliations ambiguous enough to maintain as wide a range of potential collaboration as possible while also giving enough of an idea to potential collaborators of what they do without overly typecasting themselves.

Eclectics' portfolios generally defy easy categorisation, although I am not sure whether they intend to make themselves seem unique (through curation of discography, for instance) or whether their portfolio truly reflects their oeuvre and proves that they are singular artists. In refusing to overtly label their oeuvre, their websites and public social media pages typically consist of a definitive list of what they have done or are doing (DH, GL, TO). In this way, they do not overtly categorise themselves and instead craft their self-presentation in such a way as to make sure that they are not the ones putting themselves in any kind of box – if they are to be put in a box, somebody else should do it for them. Notably missing are self-descriptions in which they describe themselves as musicians specialising in a particular genre or sub-genre. Rather, the approach favoured by Eclectics is to list what they have done and let audiences decide for themselves whether they belong in any box (DH, GL, TO).

This open-ended style of self-promotion emphasises their eclectic nature at the expense of employability, as with feature-film actors who resisted typecasting themselves in the feature-

film market as portrayed in Zuckerman et al. (2003)[16]. This excerpt from British-born saxophonist Greg Lyons' website is an example of this attitude towards self-promotion:

> Currently based out of Singapore, he is becoming known to an ever-increasing network of listeners for a commitment to making original music of an eclectic nature combining elements of his whole musical evolution – which includes representations of jazz, classical, funk, rock, pop, Brazilian, Afro-Cuban, avant-garde, folk and lots more.
>
> This idea of "organic" composition/performance creates music that defies genre or classification but that communicates at many levels. It's strength in communication is also it's weakness in marketability in that it's impossible to pigeon-hole. It is tied together by the insistence of groove and also by the ethos of jazz which puts the ultimate control in the spontaneity of the moment.
>
> (Lyons, n.d.)

As seen in this excerpt, GL opts to provide a list of genres that he has been associated with throughout his musical career and immediately provides a caveat at the end saying that even the long list of affiliated genres is not exhaustive with the use of "includes" and "and lots more" which emphasises his eclecticism even further, communicating that despite having been affiliated with these genres in the past, he is open to almost anything, thereby emphasising the fact that his oeuvre is uncategorisable. In fact, "eclectic" is a word that he uses to describe himself. In this light, it is almost as if he likes jazz not because of any other reason than how it allows him to play whatever he wants without being bound to any of the genres he lists above, a proposition

[16] In their analysis of the careers of feature-film actors, Zuckerman et al. found that actors who did not typecast themselves could not be easily classified into roles and therefore had more difficulty gaining entry into Hollywood.

that is supported by how he adopts the detached tone of an outsider looking in by commenting on the strengths (“communication”) and weaknesses (“marketability”) of his music. Regarding the use of “organic” above, GL expresses the Eclectic ideal that musical discovery can occur “organically” – that is, in the spontaneous moment of collective improvisation – by not prematurely limiting themselves musically to categories and “drawing boundaries” (GL, TO). All these factors work to make sure that GL does not prematurely limit his performance opportunities to potential collaborators, be they other musicians or event organisers, while still providing enough signposts for prospective collaborators to get an idea of what he can do.

Thus, for Eclectics, their approach to self-promotion is one in which they do not have to prove or hype anything to anybody. Rather, it is one in which they are trying to cultivate their own network of like-minded people – whatever that may be – that they can work with in an “organic” (GL) fashion, that is, in a way that is not forced or mechanical. As such, Eclectics draw boundaries against those they deem unnatural and close-minded. For them, creativity cannot be forced and must be cultivated through fostering personal and musical relationships (GL, TM, TO). Through their self-promotion, Eclectics try to control their own social environments and create the ideal conditions for their creativity to flourish by leaving their genre affiliations open to interpretation.

Cross-Genre Collaboration: Exploratory

The openness of Eclectics' boundaries suggests a desire to foster "robust identities" (Padgett & Ansell, 1993) that potentially allow them to collaborate with as wide a range of collaborators as possible. Collaborating with a wide range of musicians and artists allows them to expand the limits of their creativity. As such, cross-genre collaboration is an important aspect for Eclectics. Eclectics view cross-genre collaboration as a means of searching for their own sound while expanding their own experiential boundaries (DH, GL, NR, RX, TG, TM, TO, TW). Cross-genre collaboration for Eclectics is done in the name of transcending genre boundaries and creating something that is unique and greater than the sum of its parts. The explorative and spontaneous spirit of jazz music is what attracted Eclectics to jazz music in the first place (DH, GL, RX, TG, TM). It is a spirit of musical adventure and the joy of discovery, that is, the joy of searching for something that they cannot yet envision, that Eclectics seek – they want to be continually surprised by music (TO). Jazz music provides a dynamic platform through which such musical exploration can happen as Eclectics deem its musical structures flexible enough to incorporate diverse genres in a more "ornate" and less haphazard way compared to blues or rock music (TM). To Eclectics, cross-genre collaboration is a means of trying out new musical situations and then deciding if they want

to continue the exploration down that route or try another musical path instead – something they can only do if they keep their affiliation with genres and their respective communities ambiguous. To this end, they avoid typecasting in their self-promotion and collaborate across genres as they please, almost as if they are proud of how random and broad their genre associations are.

That said, the term “cross-genre” is a paradox for Eclectics as they generally prefer to deny the existence of boundaries between genres, instead preferring to conceptualise music as a vast, amorphous space in which genre boundaries do not exist a priori. For Eclectics, to see the musical realm in terms of boundaries is to limit the otherwise limitless creative possibilities available to musical practitioners (TO). Head of the music faculty at the LaSalle College of the Arts, Dr. Timothy O’Dwyer (TO), for instance, insists that there are no musical boundaries for him. As such, TO is a good case with which to illustrate Eclectics’ attitudes towards cross-genre collaboration. According to him:

> Conceptually, … it should be completely open *nods* It should be completely-… *raises both hands with palms facing me* *all cards* are always available on there.. to mix and match and to create… *gestures moving and combining objects* and you know, to start putting borders into that kind of stuff, I mean that’s just not how I work … the people that I usually work with think like that, anyway, so… yeah.
>
> (TO, saxophonist, 41-50 years old)

As seen in the excerpt above, TO explains that he does not like to prematurely dismiss genres when deciding what to play and who to play with. Rather, he seeks to collaborate with people who are as open-minded as him, regardless of what genre they are associated with. By conceptualising “borders” and “boundaries” between genres is not how he and his collaborators work. This is in line with the “organic” approach to making music by GL – himself a frequent collaborator of TO – above. As such, it is less about cross-genre collaboration for them that it is about collaborating with people who are similarly open-minded and are therefore not “boxed in” by what Eclectics deem to be arbitrary and transient genre boundaries (DH, GL, TM, TO, RX, YH, TW). Eclectics are careful about choosing potential collaborators as once they agree to a collaboration, they are obliged to “say yes” to everything and work with the principle of “everybody’s contribution is potentially greater than mine”, just like in the “experimental setting” depicted by Becker (2000) in which jazz musicians, like theatre artists working out solutions to a scene in a play, do not care about anything other than what works and work with the principle of saying “yes” to everything that their collaborators throw at them in the spirit of artistic exploration and solution-finding. Eclectics only adopt this “always say yes” attitude after they have agreed to work with somebody. Thus, for Eclectics, cross-genre collaboration might be an odd as it is not

so much about the genre and repertoire but, rather, who they would or would not like to play with, regardless of genre (TO).

TO is open to any kind of collaboration within and outside of music and his portfolio includes an extremely diverse pool of musical and non-musical artistic activities that range from avant-garde music to cabaret and punk-rock. As he describes, when he agrees to an artistic collaboration, he must be able to get along with who he is collaborating with as he will be committing to a journey of artistic discovery with them. To him, “saying yes”, that is, committing to the principle that everyone’s contribution might be better than yours, is the way to go for an artist. In TO’s words, “’no’ is the most boring word in the world. It’s just… it’s very boring. Why? ‘No’ goes nowhere, you know?” (TO). As such, TO draws cultural boundaries against those who are not open to or cannot envision the various possibilities and trajectories available in musical situations (TO). However, being open-minded in the sense of being able to envision the myriad musical possibilities and trajectories available to one in the musical moment clearly requires not only a wide range but also a depth of musical knowledge and experience. Their attitude towards cross-genre collaboration thus supports the idea that Eclectics draw cultural boundaries against those who lack not only the knowledge and perception to be as open-minded as they are but also the conceptual and technical dexterity to be able to “keep up” during

performance with the pace at which ideas are flowing within the ensemble.

As such, Eclectics evaluate potential collaborations through assessing the openminded-ness of their collaborators, regardless of genre. Evaluations as to whether cross-genre collaborations are feasible and desirable are conducted more on the basis of judgments of the personalities of the people involved than the genre of music that will be played. Although some admit that certain genres have a tendency to produce people that will be more “close-minded” and therefore get in the way of musical discovery, Eclectics generally try not to close the door to such collaboration prematurely based on the genre in question. As Dr. O’Dwyer states, he has “never been, like, a repertoire guy”. For him and other Eclectics, it “gets down to relationships” (ibid). In a similar vein, Dr. Tony Makarome (TM), bassist, conductor, and lecturer of jazz theory in the *Yong Siew Toh Conservatory,* a classical music conservatory based in the National University of Singapore, describes the merits of playing with his good friends, even if it is for weddings and corporate events that require music that is more mainstream than multi-ethnic jazz fusion or avant-garde punk jazz:

> When I do gigs, especially when I do gigs with other musicians that have a … positive camaraderie kind of atmosphere, it’s really conducive for music-making. The communication and the things that come out of it, the spontaneous reactions and the rhythms, I mean … that’s really what makes us play jazz. It’s the… the potential for.. … magic to happen.

(TM, bassist, 51-60 years old)

In this excerpt, TM explains that when the social aspect is conducive, the "potential for … magic to happen" is there, supporting the point that it is more about who Eclectics are playing with rather than what will be played at the gig which matters for Eclectics as they believe that, in jazz, performing with people that they can click with contributes to better musical output due to jazz's improvisatory nature – the better the relationship musicians have with each other, the more they can "stretch out" during improvisation and explore their musical horizons without fear of judgment and reproach (TM). Even in seemingly mundane settings like wedding performances, "magic" can happen if the social environment in which the music happens is "conducive for music-making" (ibid). Hence, playing with friends in relatively mundane settings like providing background music in the Botanic Gardens on a Sunday afternoon[17] can be justifiable in terms of the pursuit of good music to Eclectics as playing with the right people affords them an ideal environment for creative expression in any context, provided that these friends are as open to having musical "fun" as they are (TG, TM).

Thus, a musical situation in which Eclectics are open to participating in is a situation in which the band is filled with

[17] At the time of sampling, drummer TG and bassist TM played together frequently in such a setting at the *Halia* – a classy restaurant in the middle of Singapore's Botanic Gardens.

people they get along with. Justification for this sort of collaboration is based on the idea that, due to the familiarity they share with these people and the correspondingly non-judgmental setting in which musical performance happens with such people, the potential for “magic to happen”, that is, when beautiful musical moments occur spontaneously, is higher (TM). Eclectics prefer to evaluate cross-genre collaborations or any collaboration opportunity for that matter based on the perceived “scene” (TO) of the collaboration in question, that is, whether they will be constantly exposed to social situations that are awkward or toxic based on whether they think a potential collaborator’s personality suits them.

That said, not all Eclectics have the same criteria as to what constitutes a conducive social environment for making music as – as a defining trait of Eclectics – they do not all share the same preferences. The attitude described only applies to the evaluation of whether to accept or initiate a cross-genre collaboration and not what kind of cross-genre collaboration is accepted. A defining trait of Eclectics is the need to appear singular and different from each other. The Eclectics identified in the interview sample have very dissimilar portfolios of performances with the only thing in common being their apparent randomness (TG, TM, TO). For instance, TO has toured with a punk rock band, played in big bands, performed as a singer for cabaret shows, and played avant-garde jazz at the highest level in prestigious festivals and conservatories in Europe (O’Dwyer, 2017). As another example, TM

has a doctorate in classical conducting and possesses a diploma in mridangam performance (TM). As products of their colourful and unconventional musical adventures, Eclectics tend to have varied experiences that produce varied portfolios of work that are difficult to categorise musicologically.

Exclusivity and Elitism: Pointless

Eclectics once again draw cultural boundaries against the close-minded in their attitude towards jazz elitism. To Eclectics, the view that jazz music should be the preserve of an elite endowed with superior taste, knowledge of the genre, and technical skill is not justified. To them, it is not all of jazz that is elitist but, rather, a closed- and narrow-minded segment of jazz that is elitist. In their view, this segment typically tries to portray their brand of “New York modern jazz” as the holy grail of jazz music – something that Eclectics do not agree with as the idea that there is a correct way to play music stifles creativity when taken to the extreme (GL, TG, RX, TW). This mentality is displayed in the excerpt below where GL discusses the differences he perceives between the approach taken to improvisation by his acquaintances in his native London and proponents of the aforementioned “New York modern jazz” style being propagated by said “elitists” in Singapore:

> In the end, they’re (jazz musicians in London) much less… constrained by … the kind of straight-jacket of bebop, … like you know you get into the American thing and you get into … the

way that they approach playing the (harmonic) progression (where) … everything has to be kind of meticulously kind of worked on until you know you're not playing any notes outside the chord or any notes outside the scale and you know you're just really absolutely one hundred percent nailing it… whereas the British thing would be much more like you play it until you hear it… and then you… stop caring about being… … correct anymore and you just try and be kind of aesthetically authentic you know?

I mean I saw value in both approaches. … If you don't respect the form enough, you'll never really kind of get to the bottom of the form, but if you find yourself completely kind of boxed in by the form, you'll never express yourself as a musician so you've kind of got to work your way through one and then out the other side kind of thing you know?

(GL, saxophonist, 61-70 years old)

In the excerpt, GL explains differences between "New York" and "British" approaches to harmonic improvisation, ultimately declaring that he "saw value in both approaches". However, his use of past tense in "saw" suggests that he has been "through one and … out the other" and that it is ultimately being able to distinguish between and oscillate between both approaches rather than being "stuck" with either approach that is the end goal for him (GL). Thus, while GL believes that "New York modern jazz" is an important style to learn as a jazz musician, he does not want to be restricted by it. For Eclectics, "New York jazz" is a subset of an "American sound" and is not the be all and end all of all music (GL, TG, RX, TW). To Eclectics, "New York modern jazz" is, alongside "wedding music" and smooth jazz, not the "holy grail" of jazz but, rather, simply one of the many different "inflections" (TM) of jazz music that exist in the world. As such, Eclectics appreciate "New York modern jazz" for what it is – just

another genre – while not being restricted to it. They are curious, open, and are always on the search for their own personal sound while being aware of the importance of learning about the formalised jazz tradition while not being restricted by it.

With such an attitude towards genres, Eclectics “cultural laxity” (Lamont, 1992) is demonstrated in their attitude towards the use of jazz as a genre label. Regarding jazz as a genre label and definition, Eclectics are indifferent as to whether something is considered jazz or not. For them, to think about whether jazz music is jazz or not restricts creativity and impedes the process of artistic exploration and discovery (DH, GL, NR, RX, TG, TM, TO). While they feel that it is important to recognise genre terms for what they are, Eclectics are conscious of identifying too closely with any one of them, thereby explaining their meta view of genres mentioned earlier. By positioning themselves above the fray of genres and their identity politics, they avoid overt identification and association with a specific genre, thereby rendering them free to explore and discover as they like. In their view, things change, and so does the definition of jazz (TM, TO). Eclectics do not see anything wrong with that and typically have very “catholic” (TO) ideas of what jazz is. For Eclectics, jazz music covers and should continue covering a broad umbrella of music. Indeed, the diversity of jazz is the very reason they are attracted to jazz music. To them, it does not matter whether jazz qualifies as jazz music or not. As they take a more meta view of

their relationship with jazz music, they see that what is not acceptable in jazz right now may be considered acceptable in the future. Similarly, what is considered jazz right now may not be considered jazz in the future (TM).

Hence, to Eclectics, given the fluidity and ambiguity of the definition of jazz, there is not much point engaging in debates about whether the genre label should apply or not. To illustrate, bassist Tony Makarome cites American pianist Brad Mehldau's performance of the Beatles' "Blackbird" as an example of the futility of arguing whether something is jazz or not and defining a genre along the lines of the musical repertoire associated with it. In his words, "if suddenly because Brad Mehldau did it (and) now it's ok, then, you know, then there's a problem" (TM). Another example he cites is Miles Davis' decision to play a jazz adaptation of Cyndi Lauper's "Time After Time" in the 1980s. According to him, those who condemned these artistic decisions should be "embarrassed that they found that it was not ok at one point" (TM). To Eclectics, that such gestures are only considered acceptable when famous jazz musicians do it is a sign that people are not relating to jazz on their own terms and are, rather, simply following fads or trends.

Following fads or trends goes against Eclectics' ethos of discovering what music means on a personal level to develop one's own unique sound. The reason that people who changed

their minds about what is considered jazz or not because a jazz superstar performed a piece of music that did not use to be considered jazz is that such attitudes reveal that these people do not have their own opinions and are adopting a “herd mentality” – the very opposite of what Eclectics are aiming for in their quest for singularity and uniqueness. As such, people who follow fads and trends for their own sake fall short of Eclectics’ evaluative criteria. Such “identity politics” (TM) should, ideally, not matter to Eclectics. Those who seek conflict and are extreme and territorial in their views regarding what jazz and music should be like are close-minded and prosaic people against whom cultural boundaries are drawn by Eclectics – a group of people who would rather people “keep the peace” and be left to their own devices, albeit at the cost of a lower level of integration into the wider community.

Empirical Chapter 2: The Topology of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community Explained

Introduction and Overview

Having identified four genre ideals from the interview and ethnographic data I collected, I return to the network data to make sense of it. In this chapter, I am make the point that genre ideals and community membership are inseparable. My analysis here shows that comembership at performances reflects the adoption of shared networking styles that are reflected in the discursive practices of the interview respondents outlined in the previous chapter and the genres of jazz they play and are associated with – a feedback loop resulting in musicians who do not necessarily know each other being "sorted" into the same community or social "world" within the Singapore jazz musician community. As such, through my analysis, I have outlined evidence that suggests that it is the plurality of genre ideals within the Singapore jazz musician community that sustains the boundaries between its various segments through governing the networking styles of their members through constraining the evaluative criteria they use for inclusion and exclusion.

In this chapter, I explain how community structure in the Singapore jazz musician community is sustained by relating the partitioning of the community to the genre ideals introduced in the previous empirical chapter. In this way, I identify and explain the topology of the Singapore jazz musician community. Identifying the topology of the Singapore jazz musician community gave me an “entry point” with which I could use to begin my exploration of what the “work of recombination” entailed for members of the Singapore jazz musician community. By identifying community structure, I identify the effects of networking styles. Now that I know what the evaluative criteria for these networking styles are, I can then explain what sustains community structure. In this way, I answer the research questions for this chapter: What is the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community? How is the community partitioned? The community is partitioned through the adoption of genre ideals unique to each segment of it (“worlds”) and the enactment of the respective evaluative criteria of those genre ideals by the members of these “worlds”. These differences in genre ideals prevent communities from merging with each other due to incompatible evaluative criteria. Thus, I make the point that it is precisely that which sets communities apart that also keeps them together. Symbolic boundaries provide the basis for networking diversity.

By identifying the effects of the various genre ideals, evaluative criteria, and networking styles of jazz musicians in Singapore on the structure of the Singapore jazz musician community, we move a step closer to unpacking what it is that jazz musicians are navigating at the overlap. Genre ideals and community are inseparable as it is precisely these ideals that are keeping communities cohesive and distinct. These genre ideals are enacted through implicit evaluative criteria that shape the networking styles of jazz musicians. These ideals and their evaluative criteria serve to exclude outsiders while keeping the community cohesive. Thus, navigating community membership and genre ideals are one and the same thing. Exploring the bases upon which the communities that constitute Singapore jazz musician community are separated will help us understand what is being recombined (genre ideals, evaluative criteria) and how these result in new networking styles which herald the introduction of new genre ideals and evaluative criteria, that is, “new genres”, and how jazz musicians are navigating these evaluative criteria (next empirical chapter). By demonstrating network diversity in the Singapore jazz musician community, I make the additional argument that network diversity is a necessary but insufficient condition for innovation to occur.

In this chapter, I show that the Singapore jazz musician network is partitioned into four “worlds” consisting of communities that share certain network and non-network

characteristics. The community composition of each of these "worlds" as well as the way they are connected to other communities are ordered by the four genre ideals fleshed out in the previous chapter. As we will see in the analysis, the evaluative criteria of the four genre ideals explain the membership and composition of each world's constituent communities. Thus, the "work of recombination" has as much to do with navigating the evaluative criteria of genre ideals enacted by people as they have to do with navigating community membership. Thus, it is exactly that (genre ideals and evaluative criteria) which keeps communities cohesive which keeps them apart. As such, I further the argument that network diversity is a necessary but insufficient requirement for innovation to occur. Differences in the networking styles governed by each of the genre ideals are the means through which the symbolic boundaries separating the communities and worlds that constitute the Singapore jazz musician community are enacted and sustained. The effects of these networking styles are observed in the varied compositions of communities' members and the kinds of overlaps that they share with other communities which result in the various kinds of community clustering observed in each of the four worlds identified. As different communities enact boundaries differently, the communities and worlds identified in the Singapore jazz musician community take different forms.

In this chapter, I explain the findings of the previous chapter and how they create an ethos that facilitates particular forms of networking and, consequently, the particular configurations that the "worlds" have taken on. To begin, I briefly explain how I prepared the data for analysis. I then explain the characteristics of Purist, Pragmatist, Collectivist, and Eclectic communities. In the process, I explain how their composition and network position are influenced by the genre ideals that govern networking in these communities.

Data Preparation

I began my analysis by searching for distinct and overlapping clusters within the Singapore jazz musician community. At the end of the sampling period, I had constructed a social network consisting of 491 nodes. To identify community structure in it, I used the Weighted Clique Percolation Method algorithm (Farkas et al., 2007). Using the CPMw, I parsed the network into three iterations: Global, Local, and Condensed. By virtue of running the CPMw at the optimised cohesion threshold levels of $k = 4$, $I = 0.083$, I already excluded many musicians due to these cohesion thresholds. Those excluded did not have sufficient ties with others for them to be included in the community partition results. Thus, the global iteration which includes "visiting musicians" who come from other countries to play but are not based here returned 222 nodes. The local

iteration with “visiting musicians” removed returned 198 nodes, and the condensed iteration which excludes both “visiting” and “under-sampled” (sampled less than 3 times) musicians returned 169 nodes (see Table 2). In analysing overlap, I use the condensed iteration as there is less noise. However, for centrality scores, I will rely on the global iteration in which centrality is more salient. I ran eigenvector, betweenness, and strength centrality tests in each iteration and compiled the results into separate spreadsheets (see Appendix F).

Table 2: Community Size Distribution Table of All Iterations (k = 4; I = 0.083)

	Global Iteration		Local Iteration		Condensed Iteration	
	Size	Frequency	Size	Frequency	Size	Frequency
	4	1	4	1	4	1
	5	4	5	4	5	4
	9	1	9	1	9	1
	13	1	13	1	13	1
	32	1	32	1	30	1
	159	1	135	1	108	1
Total	222	9	198	9	169	9

On “Community 1”

From the results of the initial CPMw run, I found a large community that was present in all iterations of the network, that

is, at every “resolution level” (Csárdi et al., 2016): “Community 1”[18]. As seen in the Table 2 above, “Community 1” accounted for 159/222, 135/198, and 108/169 nodes in each iteration respectively. As such, I suspected that this cluster was obscuring many other communities due to these communities being clustered together into a large module by virtue of performance ties formed due to frequent collaboration in JASSO (Jazz Association of Singapore Orchestra). By raising *k* to increase the “resolution level”, I was able to this large module down into its constituent parts and thereby discover cohesive and distinct communities within it. Upon further investigation, thus I found that this large cluster was formed by members of many different communities congealing together due to performance ties created at big band performances for JASSO. As this “Community 1” is a community representing ties borne out of big band ties, I exclude them from the analysis as they are not a community in the sense that I use in this thesis.

Interpreting “Community 1” in its entirety as a community is not useful as it does not so much represent a communities of musicians brought together by shared ideals in the same sense as the other communities in the network as it represents the members of a big band that performs together regularly on a contractual, project-by-project basis. In fact, one might argue

[18] I refer to this community in quotation marks as Community 1 with “Community 1” removed refers to a community discovered that revolves around the band *The Steve McQueens*.

that the ties formed through collaboration in the big band are not homogeneous and qualitatively different from those formed through performing together in “combo” bands (jazz bands consisting of three to eight members) due to the relatively structured division of labour within a big band and therefore should be excluded from the analysis altogether. To illustrate, members of the brass section of big bands may hardly interact with members of the rhythm section even after multiple performances together due to the lack of overlap of roles between the two sections. This situation is different when performing in “combo” bands as the roles of members of the band are relatively fluid (Monson, 1996).

In the end, I decided to include big band ties as I figured that I could differentiate between the musicians that collaborate exclusively through big band performances from those that also collaborate elsewhere by simply raising the cohesion threshold. Raising the cohesion threshold automatically removes those who do not have sufficient ties with the community – something that indeed occurred when I iteratively raised k above 4. Having raised k to its maximum level, 7, I could clearly see who were performing in the big band and who else belonged to other communities. At that level of k, most of the musicians did not play with other musicians outside of JASSO enough were already excluded. Thus, owing to its sheer size and its nature as a big band, I do not include “Community 1” at all levels of k in the

analysis as a community in itself as it does not represent a working unit of musicians in the same sense as with the other communities as much as it represents a big band and those affiliated with it. In other words, I excluded “Community 1” from analysis as it is not a community in the sense I am using in this thesis.

When the cohesion thresholds are too low, large modules to which many people are clustered are created. These necessitate rerunning the CPMw algorithm at higher levels of *k* and *I* (Farkas et al., 2007). As such, I ran the CPMw algorithm once again on all three networks at $k = 5$, 6, and 7, with the level of *I* constant at 0.083. By increasing the “resolution level” of the clustering algorithm, I was able to identify communities that were not visible at $k = 4$. However, at higher levels of *k*, some of the communities I had identified at levels of $k = 4$ could no longer be included in the resultant community partition anymore. As such, I decided to collapse communities that were rediscovered at higher levels of *k* into single communities based on their parent communities discovered at lower levels of *k* while indicating the *k* values of communities discovered at higher levels of *k* so I knew where to find them. For instance, if one community had more iterations of itself at higher levels of *k*, I would absorb all members of these communities into the “parent” community, that is, the iteration of the community discovered at the lowest level of *k*. In this way, I was able to explore overlap between

communities discovered across varying levels of *k* (see Fig. 1 and Table 3). In this way, I was also able to use the value of *k* as a data point from which I was able to glean insights about the characteristics discovered communities. For instance, communities discovered at a higher level of *k* were more cohesive but also more elusive.

Having already discovered the communities that constitute the various segments of the Singapore jazz musician community, I then proceeded to name these communities based on my fieldwork and internet searches conducted about their members. As performance ties constituted the edges in my data, most of these discovered communities constitute cliques of musicians who perform regularly together. As such, many of these communities were formed around existing bands which had band names. In such cases, I use the name of the band the discovered community revolved around to label the communities. I ultimately arrived at the results detailed in Fig. 1 and Table 3. To remove noise, I used the condensed iteration to plot the community graph I use for my analysis. In this way, the presence and strength of community overlap is more salient. To make the graph clearer, I also removed all ties between communities of strength 1. Anyway, an overlap of 1 member is not significant as it does not indicate any strong or stable connection between communities.

In Table 3, I show the final community breakdown in terms of the community's membership to the four worlds I discovered in the Singapore jazz musician community. In this breakdown, the number of the community refers to their number assigned to them in Fig. 1. "Community Number (k = 4)" refers to their "parent" community at k = 4 – the original run of the CPMw before increasing the "resolution level". "Sub-Community" refers to the number assigned to the community by the CPMw algorithm at the level of k they were initially discovered. For instance, *The Steve McQueens* were assigned "Community 3" when they were first discovered at the "resolution level" of k = 6. Accordingly, "resolution Level" refers to the level of k that these communities were first discovered.

As seen in Fig. 1 and Table 3, the Singapore jazz musician network can be parsed into four "worlds" whose relations are governed by genre ideal adoption. Beginning with the Purist "world", I explain how I arrived at these labels for each of the communities that constitute these "worlds".

Fig. 1: Final Community Graph

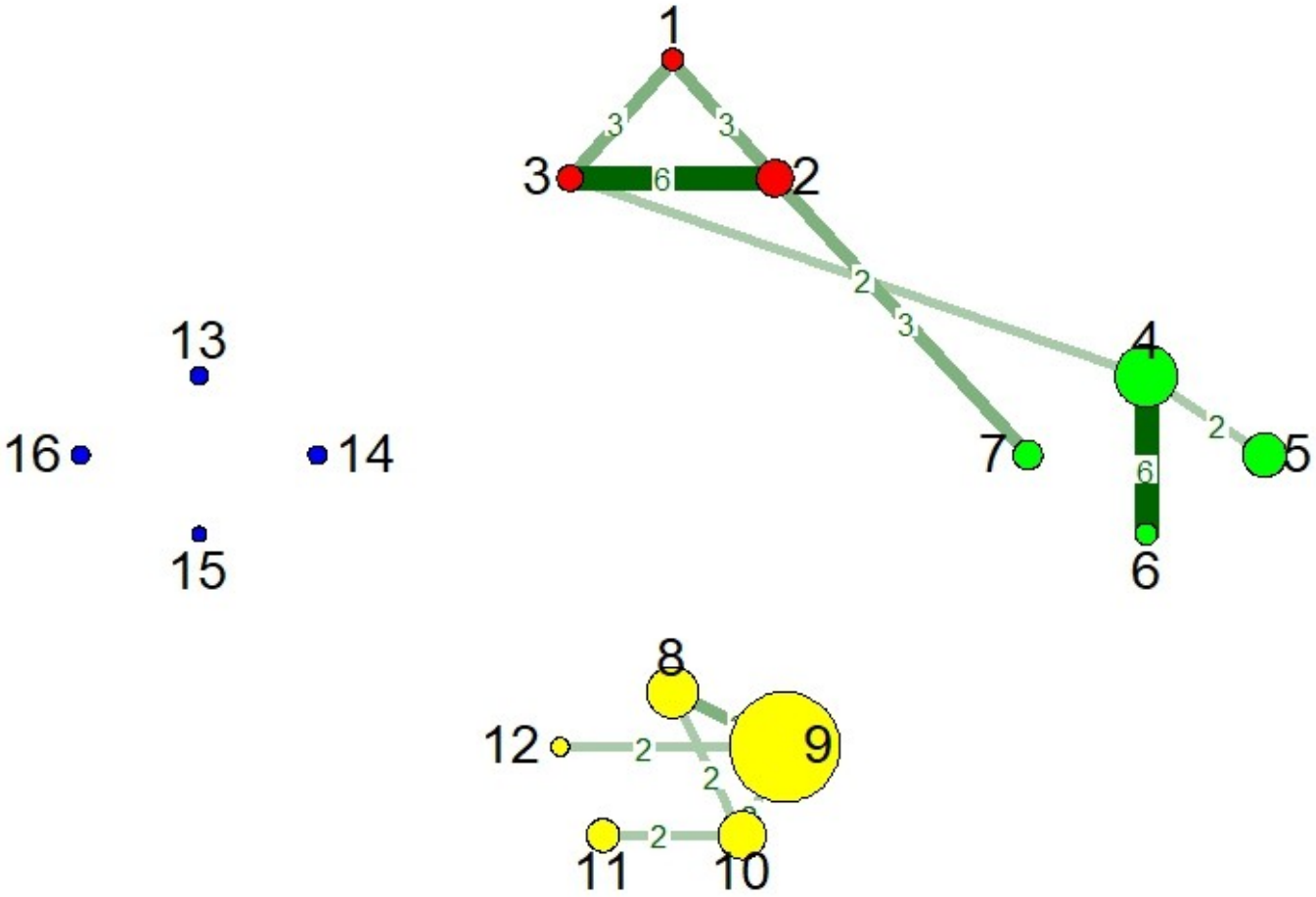


Table 3: Final Community Breakdown

World	No.	Name	Community No. (k = 4)	Sub-Community	Resolution Level (k)
Purists	1	The Steve McQueens	1	3	6
	2	Elite Core 1	1	3	7
	3	Elite Core 2	1	4	7
Pragmatists	4	Jordan Wei and SMS Band	1	3	5
	5	Tama Goh, Caravan Band, and Loudanclear	1	4	5
	6	Joanna Dong and Friends	1	5	6
	7	Charlie Lim and the Mothership	1	4	6
			1	5	7
Collectivists	8	Aya Sekine and The Jazz Djogets	1	2	5
			1	2	6
			1	2	7
	9	Greg Lyons and Grooveworks	2	-	4
	10	The Blue Monks	3	-	4
	11	New Stream Brass Band	5	-	4
	12	Sinclair Ang and The Rhythmakers	6	-	4
Eclectics	13	Dawn Ho and Indigo	4	-	4
	14	Alina Ramirez and Ireson	7	-	4
	15	The Lorong Boys	8	-	4
	16	Susan Harmer-Lauw and Tropic Green	9	-	4

The Purist World: Small, Cohesive, Exclusive

The first group of communities that I classified was the Purist group as the resonance between the configuration of the Purist world and Purist genre ideals was clear to me the moment I discovered them at k = 6 and 7. Purist genre ideals manifest in their small size, high levels of cohesion, and high eigenvector centrality. Being averse to self-promotion means that they are elusive and difficult to reach, thereby explaining why Purist communities are so difficult to detect, being

embedded deep within “Community 1”. To Purists, this is by design as they would rather have a small but tightly bounded community filled with those they can trust than a large but loosely-bounded community (AJ, AL). Thus, the Purist world comprises communities that are only visible at higher resolution levels (k = 6 and above) and Purist communities share higher degrees of overlap with each other than communities of the other worlds have with each other in their respective worlds. In other words, the Purist world is more cohesive than the other worlds.Purist communities are small in size with a high level of cohesion as Purists are exclusive and police the boundaries of their membership strongly by maintaining high levels of moral purity, with high levels of musicianship interpreted as an indication thereof. Averse to self-promotion, Purists fiercely police the boundaries of their circle of “true” and “pure” jazz musicians who rarely perform with non-jazz musicians or in non-jazz settings. As such, they also have high eigenvector centrality as they only perform with the few who pass their test of dedication through demonstrating skill, knowledge, and cultural awareness. Another marker of Purist communities is the relatively higher centrality (eigenvector and strength centrality) scores of their members.

Table 4a: Highest Eigenvector Centrality Scores in All Three Iterations of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community

	Global Iteration		Local Iteration		Condensed Iteration	
Rank	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Name	Eigenvector Centrality
1	Aaron.James.Lee *	1	Aaron.James.Lee *	1	Aaron.James.Lee *	1
2	Christy.Smith +	0.833604	Christy.Smith +	0.83824	Christy.Smith +	0.838666
3	Jeremy.Monteiro	0.653631	Sean.Hong.Wei	0.639048	Sean.Hong.Wei	0.631021
4	Sean.Hong.Wei	0.651374	Jeremy.Monteiro	0.61824	Jeremy.Monteiro	0.608925
5	Weixiang.Tan ^	0.610607	Weixiang.Tan ^	0.611773	Weixiang.Tan ^	0.606911
6	Andrew.Lim *	0.590918	Andrew.Lim *	0.597088	Andrew.Lim *	0.598071
7	Kenji.Nakano	0.558866	Kenji.Nakano	0.569169	Kenji.Nakano	0.569772
8	Ben.Poh +	0.508425	Ben.Poh +	0.496484	Ben.Poh +	0.487613
9	Nicole.Duffell *	0.452736	Nicole.Duffell *	0.461716	Nicole.Duffell *	0.462831
10	Alemay.Fernandez ^	0.397409	Audrey.Tengkey ^	0.397868	Audrey.Tengkey ^	0.39868

* : Belongs to all three Purist communities.
^ : Belongs to two Purist communities.
+ : Belongs to one Purist community.

Table 4b: Mean Eigenvector Centrality Scores of Every Community in the Context of the Global Iteration

k = 4		*k* = 5 in "Community 1" (*k* = 4)		*k* = 6 in "Community 1" (*k* = 4)		*k* = 7 in "Community 1" (*k* = 4)	
No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score
1	0.122944	1	0.182592	1	0.213787	1	0.258753
2	0.040096	2	0.127874	2	0.084229	2	0.06714
3	0.028992	3	0.110624	***3***	***0.398337*** *	***3***	***0.460609*** ^
4	0.012131	4	0.069274	4	0.153742	***4***	***0.519995*** +
5	0.031167			5	0.167991	5	0.118932
6	0.040754						
7	0.008596						
8	0.054536						
9	0.056746						

* : *The Steve McQueens*
^ : Elite Core 1
+ : Elite Core 2

Table 4c: Mean Strength Centrality Scores of Every Community in the Context of the Global Iteration

$k = 4$		$k = 5$ in "Community 1" ($k = 4$)		$k = 6$ in "Community 1" ($k = 4$)		$k = 7$ in "Community 1" ($k = 4$)	
No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score	No.	Score
1	1.774823	1	2.149581	1	2.429287	1	2.823708
2	1.528369	2	2.463526	2	2.344681	2	2.143617
3	1.572831	3	2.232791	***3***	***2.98227*** *	***3***	***3.761702*** *
4	0.710638	4	1.698582	4	2.178191	***4***	***4.264438*** ^
5	1.229314			5	3.212766	5	1.805471
6	1.617021						
7	0.621277						
8	1.12234						
9	1.531915						

* : *The Steve McQueens*

^ : Elite Core 1

+ : Elite Core 2

As seen in Table 3a above, many in the top ten highest eigenvector centrality from all three iterations of the Singapore jazz musician community belonged to Purist communities. As such, Purists are over-represented in this list of those who possess the highest eigenvector centrality scores, thereby suggesting that they perform very frequently and almost exclusively with each other. Indeed, as seen in Table 4b, the three Purist communities that form the Purist world have the top three highest mean eigenvector centrality scores in the entire network. Indicators that they perform very frequently with each other comes from the relatively high mean strength centrality[19] scores of Purist communities. As seen in Table 4c, 3 out of 4 of the communities with highest mean strength centrality scores in the network are Purist communities, with Elite Core 1 and 2 occupying the top two spots and *The Steve McQueens* occupying fourth spot. With these characteristics in mind, I classified Communities 1, 2, and 3 in Fig. 1 as the Purist communities that constitute the Purist world – a cluster of communities whose relations are governed by the Purist genre ideal and its evaluative criteria. This evaluative criteria has resulted in a small but tight cluster of communities that shares a lot of overlap with each other but not with other communities.

[19] Strength centrality measures the degree to which a node is connected to its adjacent nodes ina network. Thus, in this case, it represents the frequency a musician has participated in jazz performances.

Community 1: The Steve McQueens

Community 1[20] in Figure 1 consists of members and affiliates of the band, *The Steve McQueens*. The band is helmed by prolific session keyboardist and composer-arranger Joshua Wan and features some of the most in-demand session musicians in Singapore. Apart from bassist Jase Sng who occupies the overlap between *The Steve McQueens* (Community 1) and *Charlie Lim and the Mothership* (Community 7), *The Steve McQueens* does not share any overlap with any other non-Purist community. This suggests that they are an exclusive bunch who mostly plays with Purists. That they an exclusive bunch is an observation supported by how they have the third-highest mean eigenvector centrality score as a community in the entire network behind only the other two Purist communities (see Table 4b). In fact, their drummer, Aaron James Lee (AJ), has the highest eigenvector centrality score in the whole network while their guitarist, Andrew Lim (AL), has the 6th highest eigenvector centrality score in the whole network (see Table 4a).

As more than half of this community are members of the "elite core" of the Singapore jazz musician community, that is, Communities 4 and 4 (k = 7), I classify this community as a Purist community, with *The Steve McQueens* likely a fun project for the musicians involved. In support of this classification is the explanation on the band's website that the band's name was inspired by American actor Steve McQueen,

[20] Community 1 refers to Community 1 in Figure 1 and Table 3 and not "Community 1" – the large community module that I had to break down to discover other communities. From henceforth, I will use the numbers of communities in Table 3 to refer to communities.

who is, in their opinion, “the perfect symbol of the anti-establishment escapist”, and that their music should “free the soul” and serve the purpose of self-liberation (The Steve McQueens, 2013). Association with Steve McQueen’s rebellious ethos and the use of “free the soul” suggest a rejection of society – defining aspects of the Purist ethos explained in the previous chapter.

Community 2 and 3: Elite Core 1 and 2

At $k = 7$, the most elusive group of musicians in the Singapore jazz musician community become visible as distinct and cohesive communities: The Elite Core of the Singapore jazz musician community. I labelled these communities as the “elite core” because these musicians, owing to their high eigenvector centrality scores, belong to the “core” of the Singapore jazz musician network. As seen in Table 4b below, these two communities have the highest mean eigenvector centrality scores in the entire network, with Communities 2 and 3 having scores that far surpass those of all the other communities detected.

The fact that this group of musicians is only discovered as distinct and cohesive communities when the cohesion threshold is raised this far is testament to their exclusivity and the extent to which they are embedded within the Singapore jazz musician community network. Communities 2 and 3 consist of musicians who not only regularly perform at the most prestigious and dedicated jazz venues in Singapore such as the jazz club *Maduro* – a jazz club located in the

posh Dempsey Hill district at the time of sampling – but also do so almost exclusively with each other. Members of these two communities such as pianist Weixiang Tan and keyboardist Oliver von Essen also hold prestigious teaching appointments in schools such as the LaSalle College of the Arts – the premier institution to obtain a tertiary-level jazz degree in Singapore.

The Pragmatist World: Relationships of Prosperity

Pragmatist communities are defined by relationships of mutual benefit between bandleaders (vocalists or saxophonists) and the elite musicians they hire. They are distinguished from Purists through their markedly lower eigenvector centrality scores. Pragmatists are less concerned about furthering ideological causes than they are about succeeding in the music industry by growing their brand and increasing their "value", with value measured monetarily. As such, their communities mostly consist of alliances between bandleaders with low eigenvector centrality scores and musicians with higher eigenvector or strength centrality scores. For this reason, the Pragmatist world shares the highest degree of overlap with the Purist world compared to the other worlds.

The Pragmatist world contains some of the most in-demand jazz sessionists in Singapore and South-East Asia. Their services are frequently called upon by Singapore's leading "jazz-pop" acts such as Miss Lou (PX), "Singapore's Glamour Vintage Songbird" whose songs have featured in the top ten of regional Spotify and Apple music charts (Miss Lou, n.d.), Joanna Dong (JD), Singapore's "jazz chanteuse" who commands a regional following having finished third place in *Sing! China* 2017, China's largest singing competition, and Universal Music signee singer-songwriter Charlie Lim.

Community 4: Jordan Wei and SMS Band

Community 4, “Jordan Wei and SMS Band”, consists of two groups: musicians that perform often with pianist Jordan Wei and members and collaborators of the *SMS Band* comprising drummer Teo Jia Rong, bassist Nicholas Lee, and guitarist Andy Chong. The band produces a lot of online content in the form of prog-jazz covers of local pop songs, with their performances usually featuring guest vocalists in featured in one-off collaborations – most of whom are not included in the condensed iteration as they did not collaborate frequently enough and were thus excluded from the analysis. With the performance ties that make up this community mainly revolving around Jordan Wei (JW) and his band performing with famous singers, this community does not appear to be trying to make profound statements about the future of jazz music like with Purist or Collectivist communities.

The make-up of this community suggests that the network ties between the musicians that constitute it can be characterised as transactional ties between session musicians and famous singers in which session musicians offer singers musical legitimacy while singers offer session musicians higher levels of public exposure and increased earnings from performances. Judging from the famous singers and bandleaders with low eigenvector centrality scores that they are associated with – a list that includes famous local singers such as Sandra Riley Tang who is a member of Sony and Warner Brothers Music signees *The Sam Willows*, and Joanna Dong, I classify this community

as Pragmatist as it consists of in-demand session musicians with higher eigenvector and/or strength centrality scores grouped together with famous vocalists and bandleaders, thereby fitting the description of a Pragmatist community.

Table 5a: Eigenvector and Strength Centrality Scores of Members of Community 4

No.	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Strength Centrality	Instrument
1	Alemay.Fernandez	0.397409	4.787234	Vox
2	Andy.Chong ^	0.043866	2	Guitar
3	Ben.Poh +	0.508425	6.234043	Bass
4	Colin.Yong +	0.046046	1.021277	Bass
5	Daniel.Chia	0.050289	2.148936	Sax
6	Eugene.Chew	0.04464	1.914894	Bass
7	Fabian.Lim +	0.124858	2.659574	Sax
8	Joanna.Dong *	0.09158	1.510638	Vox
9	Jordan.Wei ^ +	0.121978	3.638298	Keys
10	Lisa.Haryono *	0.019833	0.787234	Vox
11	Nicholas.Lee ^	0.046628	2.234043	Bass
12	Rit.Xu	0.180432	2.87234	Flute
13	Sandra.Riley.Tang *	0.006771	0.382979	Vox
14	Sebastian.Ho +	0.059184	1.787234	Guitar
15	Teo.Jia.Rong ^ +	0.101919	3.446809	Drums
16	Tim.de.Cotta *	0.020437	0.276596	Vox
17	Trisno.Ishak	0.016305	0.2553	Guitar

			19	

* : Vocalists who have performed with the SMS Band
^ : Members of the SMS Band
+ : In-demand session musicians

As seen in Table 5a, Community 4 contains a combination of musicians with relatively high centrality scores and vocalists or bandleaders with low centrality scores, with the vocalists that have collaborated with the SMS Band all having low eigenvector and strength centrality scores. Their low centrality scores suggest that vocalists in this community are not integral members of the jazz musician community and come from musical communities external to the jazz musician community. To illustrate, vocalists in Table 5a (with the exception of Alemay Fernandez) have low eigenvector and strength centrality scores and are grouped together with session musicians who have higher centrality scores such as pianist Jordan Wei (strength centrality 3.638298), drummer Teo Jia Rong (strength centrality 3.446809), and bassist Ben Poh (eigenvector centrality 0.508425; strength centrality 6.234043).

Community 5: Tama Goh Caravan Band and Loudanclear

As with Community 4, Community 5 consists of high eigenvector or strength centrality musicians who play with non-jazz musicians at weddings, corporate events, or as background music in restaurants as opposed to being featured in prestigious jazz clubs like Maduro or national venues like the Esplanade as featured jazz acts.

Community 5, “Tama Goh Caravan Band and Loudanclear”, consists of two groups. The first group consists of members of the *Caravan Band* - the long-time resident band at the Halia Restaurant at the Botanic Gardens led by veteran Singaporean drummer Tama Goh (TG). The other group consists of affiliates of the *Loudanclear* events management company helmed by saxophonist Daniel Chia and his wife, Lou Peixin (PX), or “Miss Lou”. There is significant overlap between these groups as members of both groups often perform with members of the other group at corporate functions, weddings, and similar events. With most of their ties created and sustained through playing at such events, I classify this community as a Pragmatist community as their involvement with jazz seems less about making a point about jazz or art than it is about “getting the job done” and earning money by providing nothing but solid entertainment. As such, the nature of the events through which I sampled the members of this community lend themselves to a Pragmatist classification.

Finally, as seen in Figure 3, the fact that they share no overlap with Purist communities or with any community from any other world further supports their classification as Pragmatist. The difference, however, between this community and Community 4 is that, as evidenced by the generally low centrality scores of their members, they do not share any overlap with the Purist world (see Figure 1), thereby suggesting that the in-demand session musicians belonging to this community may belong to non-jazz musical communities more than they belong to the jazz musician community. As such, members of

this community may be said to be more characteristically Pragmatist than with those of Community 4 who share some overlap with Purist communities.

Table 5b: Eigenvector and Strength Centrality Scores of Members of Community 5 in the Global Iteration

No.	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Strength Centrality	Instrument
1	Brandon.Wong +	0.017604	0.723404	Bass
2	Carol.Gomez *	0.094124	3.021277	Vox
3	Daniel.Chia	0.050289	2.148936	Sax
4	Hiroaki.Maekawa	0.010504	0.510638	Bass
5	Kelvin.Ang	0.00838	0.468085	Guitar
6	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou *	0.037412	1.468085	Vox
7	Mei.Sheum +	0.060832	0.87234	Keys
8	Regi.Leo +	0.033867	0.829787	Guitar
9	Sebastian.Ho +	0.059184	1.787234	Guitar
10	Tama.Goh +	0.26357	4.787234	Drums
11	Teng.Si.Heng	0.134376	2.170213	Bass
12	Tony.Makarome	0.061152	1.595745	Bass

* : Vocalists who have performed with the Caravan Band
+ : In-demand session musicians

Community 6: Joanna Dong and Friends

Community 6, “Joanna Dong and Friends”, consists of regionally-famous bilingual vocalist Joanna Dong (JD) and her closest musical associates – many of whom are in-demand session musicians. As a

"pop-jazz" act, she takes the "jazz" aspect of her persona quite seriously and considers hiring serious local jazz musicians as a non-negotiable component of her live performances (JD). As such, she and singer-songwriter Charlie Lim share a rhythm section which includes bassist Ben Poh and pianist Jordan Wei – two in-demand jazz sessionists who have high eigenvector (Ben Poh and Jordan Wei place 8th and 33rd respectively in terms of eigenvector centrality scores in the global iteration) or strength centrality scores[21]. I thus classify Community 6 as Pragmatist as it is made up of a popular bandleader paired with rhythm section musicians who have higher eigenvector centrality scores bound together in a symbiotic relationship[22]. This symbiotic relationship between musicians with high eigenvector and/or strength centrality scores and vocalists or other bandleaders who have much lower eigenvector or strength centrality scores explains why the Pragmatist world shares the most overlap with the Purist world.

[21] As seen in Table 5c, Ben Poh and Jordan Wei have markedly higher eigenvector and strength centrality scores compared to Joanna Dong.

[22] In the previous chapter, JD explains how Purists and Pragmatists need each other and may benefit from working together: Pragmatists help Purists earn money while Purists lend Pragmatists authenticity and "legitimacy" (JD). This authenticity helps Pragmatists distinguish themselves from others better, with the added degree of distinction afforded through such collaboration with Purists a means through which Pragmatists may earn even more money in the longer run.

Table 5c: Eigenvector and Strength Centrality Scores of Members of Community 6 in the Global Iteration

No.	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Strength Centrality	Instrument
1	Ben.Poh +	0.508425	6.234043	Bass
2	Fabian.Lim +	0.124858	2.659574	Sax
3	Joanna.Dong *	0.09158	1.510638	Vox
4	Jordan.Wei +	0.121978	3.638298	Keys
5	Sebastian.Ho +	0.059184	1.787234	Guitar
6	Teo.Jia.Rong +	0.101919	3.446809	Drums

* : Vocalists who have collaborated with the Caravan Band
+ : In-demand session musicians

Community 7: Charlie Lim and the Mothership

Community 7 consists of communities that represent singer-songwriter Charlie Lim, his band, *The Mothership*, and musicians affiliated with him and his band. A signee to Universal Music Singapore, Lim regularly hires top jazz musicians to play in *The Mothership*. He is thus included in the Singapore jazz musician network by virtue of his rhythm section, that is, the drummer, bassist, and keyboardist of his band, *The Mothership*.

As seen in Table 5d, *The Mothership* comprises a low-eigenvector centrality leader who is a vocalist in the form of Charlie Lim and a high-eigenvector centrality rhythm section in the form of their keyboardist and musical director Chok Kerong, bassist Jase Sng, and drummer Wen Ming Soh, with Chok Kerong and Wen Ming Soh weighing in at 12/218

and 15/218 respectively in terms of eigenvector centrality in the condensed iteration of the Singapore jazz musician community (see Appendix F). These three members of *The Mothership's* rhythm section also have the highest strength centrality in *The Mothership*, indicating that they play more jazz performances than the other members of Community 7. While vocalist Alemay Fernandez in Community 7 is included in these communities as a singer with a high eigenvector centrality score, she is not an integral part of Charlie Lim and the Mothership and is included in Community 7 at $k = 6$ more because of her strong association with the Mothership's musical director, Chok Kerong, than because of a strong association with Charlie Lim himself. Evidence of this lies in how she ceases to be a part of the "Charlie Lim and the Mothership" community when k is raised to 7 due to her not having performed with them a sufficient number of times to be included in the $k = 7$ iteration of this community (see Appendix B).

As such, I classify the communities that comprise "Charlie Lim and the Mothership" as Pragmatist as they conform to the pattern of having a famous, low-eigenvector centrality bandleader (Charlie Lim) paired with a rhythm section with substantially higher eigenvector and strength centrality scores (Wen Ming Soh, Jase Sng, and Chok Kerong). While these communities do share an overlap with a Purist community, Community 1 (*The Steve McQueens)*, by virtue of sharing bassist Jase Sng who plays bass for both *The Mothership* and *The Steve McQueens*, the Pragmatist classification remains as, precisely because Jase Sng is an in-demand session musician who is associated with *The Steve*

McQueens. As he is a member of the rhythm section of *The Mothership*, he is part of a high-eigenvector centrality rhythm section that supports a low-eigenvector centrality bandleader who is a vocalist – a personnel composition characteristic of Pragmatist communities.

Table 5d: Eigenvector and Strength Centrality Scores of Members of Community 7 in the Global Iteration

No.	Name	Eigenvector Centrality	Strength Centrality	Instrument
1	Adam.Shah	0.027368	0.723404	Percussion
2	Charlie.Lim *	0.023676	0.638298	Vox
3	Chok.Kerong +	0.177729	2.553191	Keys
4	Euntaek.Kim	0.064633	1.659574	Keys
5	Evan.Low	0.025118	0.702128	Percussion
6	Jase.Sng +	0.163871	2.617021	Bass
7	Wen.Ming.Soh +	0.350133	3.744681	Drums

* : Bandleader of The Mothership
+ : In-demand session musicians

The Collectivist World: Jazz Evangelists at the Frontline

Collectivist communities revolve around groups that offer beginner-friendly jazz experiences, that is, experiences that are supposed to showcase jazz or jazz-related culture authentically while also being appreciable by those new to the genre. Collectivist events are agorae in which otherwise disparate segments of the jazz

community are brought together. On top of that, Collectivists also frequently seek ways to rope in non-jazz members from other musical-artistic communties. As such, the Collectivist world constitutes a cluster of communities representing groups that revolve around jazz advocacy. Collectivists' most definitive trait is that they are opposed to elitism in jazz, opting instead to portray jazz music as a fun and inclusive form of music rather than a complex and overly sophisticated art form. As such, Collectivist communities are all involved in community outreach in some way, share moderate to high degrees of overlap with each other, and are already visible at lower "resolution levels"[23]. As seen in Figure 1, the Collectivist communities all share overlaps between each other while only sharing negligible overlap with the Pragmatist world and even less overlap with the Purist "world", thereby forming a distinct cluster of five communities.

Conflicting views regarding the enactment of moral boundaries explain why the Collectivist communities not do not share overlap with the Purist communities. Their varied takes on jazz egalitarianism move them in opposite directions. While Purists enact egalitarianism through avoiding the framing of their events as educational or accessible. One way they do this is by not altering the music they play to make it more accessible to new audiences. Collectivists, on the other hand, do the opposite by actively tailoring experiences to accommodate new

[23] Collectivist communities are already visible at and classified into a cluster of communities when the CPMw algorithm is run on the community graph, that is, the network consisting of communities detected as nodes, at $k = 3$. The community graph is a weighted network in which the nodes consist of communities and the ties between them represent community overlap. From this, I can tell that Collectivist communities are not as reclusive or exclusive as Purist communities as they are already visible at lower "resolution levels".

audiences. Another way in which Purist genre ideals and Collectivist genre ideals separate them from each other can be seen in how Purists perform with almost exclusively those they trust (contributing to higher eigenvector centrality scores and lower betweenness centrality scores) while Collectivists perform across communities (contributing to lower eigenvector centrality scores but higher betweenness centrality scores).

Collectivists' low eigenvector centrality scores fit with their egalitarian ideals. They endeavour to not always play with the same few people, opting instead to move around musical circles as a means of diplomacy to bring the jazz community closer together (AS, DH, FP). To them, jazz musicians should put their differences with each other and other genres aside and work together to spread the joy and rich heritage of the unique and beautiful art form they love (AS, DH). As such, Collectivists draw moral boundaries against those that are perceived as selfish and individualistic for putting self before community in perpetuating the elitist culture that they see as detrimental to the jazz community. As those from the Purist "world" are generally perceived by the Collectivists to be perpetuating such negative aspects of jazz culture, there is almost no overlap between the Purist and Collectivist "worlds". Purists perform only with a select few that have earned their trust while Collectivists perform across groups so as to contribute to the community and bridge disparate segments of it. As Collectivists have a moral imperative to not be exclusive, they constantly look for new musicians to play with and thus

have relatively lower eigenvector centrality scores than Purists. In this way, community structure is sustained through the adoption of distinct and potentially conflicting genre ideals that generate incompatible networking styles.

Community 8: Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets

Community 8, “Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets”, revolves around Singapore-bred Japanese pianist Aya Sekine (AS), some of her musical associates, and her band, *The Jazz Djogets.* Community 2 (k = 5) represents members of two groups of musicians that perform with AS – those that are part of the *Jazz Djogets* and those that she calls upon for more serious jazz performances and *We Love Jazz* advocacy events, with *We Love Jazz* being a jazz advocacy group headed by Sekine. These two groups embedded within Community 8 in its k = 5 iteration showcase Sekine and company’s egalitarian and participatory vision of the jazz community – a vision that specifically goes against the notion that jazz is exclusive and elitist.

In support of AS’s egalitarian vision of the jazz community is the use of the word “unify” in the following excerpt from *We Love Jazz*‘s “About Us” section of their website. The use of this word suggests that those affiliated with AS and her organisation, *We Love Jazz*, perceive the jazz community as lacking unity and that something needs to be done about it lest it die or loses its way. Furthermore, the use of “as a whole” in the excerpt below suggests that AS and company perceive

the (jazz) music community to be fragmented – a common thread among Collectivists (AA, AS, DH, RM, FP).

> We Love Jazz … is an arts organization dedicated to strengthening the foundation of the jazz and improvised music community in Singapore. … WLJ SG's main objective is to create an environment and opportunities where we can unify and promote the jazz community in Singapore as a whole through grassroots outreach, education and resource support as well as interactive community music events.
>
> (We Love Jazz, n.d.)

The Jazz Djogets and *We Love Jazz* are AS and company's enactment of Collectivist genre ideals – it is their way of intervening and helping the jazz community which they suggest is fragmented and becoming increasingly irrelevant and therefore in need of advocacy. As stated in *We Love Jazz*'s website's "Core Values" section, Sekine and company believe that "accessibility" and "inclusiveness" are important for jazz music's future (We Love Jazz, n.d.) as, without these values, jazz could stray from its roots as a form of publicly accessible improvised dance music and a symbol of egalitarianism among people of all backgrounds and races, with a culture of elitism dominating instead of a sense of communal camaraderie and shared purpose.

AS and company seek to prevent such an outcome and intervene by "forging a deeper relationship and understanding between practitioners, their craft and the audience", with a part of this endeavour involving fostering "a safe and nurturing environment with proper support and resources in order for it to flourish" (We Love Jazz, n.d.). As such, AS and company aim to unite disparate segments of the

jazz music community while simultaneously reaching out to musicians and non-musicians within and outside the jazz music community – a community which, in their opinion, is becoming insular and thereby sowing the seeds of its own doom (AS, FP). The composition of members percolated into Community 8 by the CPMw algorithm reflect her efforts to unify and promote the jazz music community.

The first group in Community 8 consists of the non-*Jazz Djogets* members. Apart from the members of *The Jazz Djogets*, the members of this community in its $k = 5$ iteration are frequent collaborators of AS and vocalist Namie Rasman such as guitarist Andy Chong, saxophonist Te Sootthipong, and drummer Darryl Ervin. These musicians play together at AS's more "straight-ahead", that is, bebop in instrumentation and style, non-*Jazz Djogets* performances such as at *We Love Jazz* or jazz club showcases. The other group of musicians included in this community are members of Sekine's band, *The Jazz Djogets. The Jazz Djogets* are a quirky "Singapore based [sic] jazz septet whom [sic] plays a mix of Malay, Indonesian, English, Brazilian, French and Japanese songs plus some of the finest wrongly appropriated songs LIVE with loads of musical accidents" (Saravanan, n.d.), with "Djoget" a reference to the ethnicity of the majority of members in the band, the markedly Malay character of the band's musical output, and the danceability of their music[24]. The goal of this band is to be accessible, inclusive, and fun as they strive to play music that, as they often mention in their promotional materials, everyone

[24] "Djoget" is a portmanteau of singer Rudy Djoe's surname and the Malay word "joget". "Joget" is a playful form of traditional Malay dance.

can “djoget” to – something that is evident in a slogan frequently used in their promotional materials, “semua boleh djoget”, or “everybody can dance (to our music)” in Malay, with the use of “everybody” clearly encapsulating her vision of jazz and music in general as something that everybody can enjoy as opposed to the preserve of a select few who can appreciate it and are supposed to have the right to do so.

Table 6a below shows the members of *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* at k = 5, 6, and 7 respectively. As evident in Table 6a, when k is raised, AS’s “true” clique, that is, the group of people she performs with the most, reveals itself while those who collaborate with her less frequently are removed from the community. During the period of 2019 to 2020 and in line with her goal of uniting the jazz community, AS was actively working to perform with disparate segments of the jazz musician community by not performing with the same people all the time save for *The Jazz Djogets*. Her “networking down” (Larson & Ready, 2022) with musicians of lower eigenvector centrality scores ultimately came at the expense of her membership to the “elite core”[25].

AS’s non-*Jazz Djogets* musical engagements are the reason why she and other members of *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* were included in “Community 1” (k = 4) as, because of her, bassist Arthur Adika Wiyono (AA), and the non-*Jazz Djogets* members of Community 8 (k = 5), there are just enough members in this community that are also

[25] The “elite core” refers to members of Community 2 and 3, “Elite Core 1” and “Elite Core 2”.

part of “Community 1” (k = 4) for this community to be absorbed by it. Only when k is raised to 5 does *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* break away from “Community 1” (k = 5) to form its own distinct community. At k = 6, *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* becomes even smaller with drummer Darryl Ervin and saxophonist Te Sootthipong the only non-*Jazz Djogets* musicians remaining from its k = 5 iteration, with drummer Ting Wei Yap, guitarist Andy Chong, pianist Lee Ann Gie, and saxophonist Sean Hong Wei removed from this community at k = 6. As such, when k is raised to 6, Aya Sekine is left with only two of her frequent collaborators (Darryl Ervin and Te Sootthipong) and the members of *The Jazz Djogets* (see Table 6a).

	k = 5	*k* = 6	*k* = 7
No.	Name	Name	Name
1	Andy.Chong *	-	-
2	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono ^	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono ^	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono ^
3	Aya.Sekine ^	Aya.Sekine ^	Aya.Sekine ^
4	Darryl.Ervin * +	Darryl.Ervin *	-
5	Lee.Ann.Gie *	-	-
6	Matin.Razlan ^	Matin.Razlan ^	Matin.Razlan ^
7	Namie.Rasman ^	Namie.Rasman ^	Namie.Rasman ^
8	Rafaee.Mahmood ^	Rafaee.Mahmood ^	Rafaee.Mahmood ^
9	Ridz.Razali ^	Ridz.Razali ^	Ridz.Razali ^
10	Rudy.Djoe ^ +	Rudy.Djoe ^ +	Rudy.Djoe ^ +
11	Sean.Hong.Wei * +	-	-
12	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong * +	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong * +	-
13	Ting.Wei.Yap * +	-	-
14	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat ^	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat ^	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat ^

Table 6a: Members of *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* at *k* = 5, 6, and 7

* : Non-members of *The Jazz Djogets*
^ : Members of *The Jazz Djogets*
+ : Members of “Community 1” at *k* = 7

By the time k is raised to 7, only members of *The Jazz Djogets* remain in Community 8. At $k = 7$, the two remaining non-*Jazz Djogets* musicians (Darryl Ervin and Te Sootthipong) in Community 8 ($k = 6$) appear only in "Community 1" ($k = 7$) and cease to be a member of Community 8 at that level of k, thereby leaving only the members of *The Jazz Djogets* in Community 8 ($k = 7$). Also, at $k = 7$, AS is completely broken off from "Community 1" ($k = 7$). This is contrasted with the previous two iterations of Community 8, that is, the $k = 5$ and 6 iterations, where she was grouped with "Community 1" ($k = 5, 6$) of those two iterations.

The fact that only the members of the *Jazz Djogets* remain in Community 8 at $k = 7$ shows that AS performed more often with members of the *Jazz Djogets* than with non-*Jazz Djogets* members of Community 8. The movement of members of Community 8 at $k = 5$ (Darryl Ervin, Sean Hong Wei, and Te Sootthipong) to "Community 1" at $k = 7$ shows that the non-*Jazz Djogets* personnel in Community 8 are more affiliated with JASS than with the *Jazz Djogets* as they share more ties with other members of "Community 1" than they do with other members of *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets*, thereby resulting in their inclusion into "Community 1" ($k = 7$) instead of Community 8 ($k = 7$). While *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* still shares an overlap with "Community 1" at $k = 7$, that overlap is not occupied by her but, rather, by the vocalist of *The Jazz Djogets*, Rudy Djoe, as he has performed with JASSO before and therefore has sufficient links with the

members of JASSO to be included in that community at k = 7. This reveals that AS is, just like Charlie Lim and Joanna Dong (JD), not a full-fledged member of "Community 1" (k = 4, 5, 6, 7) but, rather, a member by virtue of association with some of JASS's members, that is, Rudy Djoe of *The Jazz Djogets* and the non-*Jazz Djogets* members of her community such as drummer Darryl Ervin and saxophonist Te Sootthipong – both of whom are missing from Community 8 at k = 7 but are still present in Community 8 in its k = 5 and 6 iteration. As they are no longer members of "Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets" at k = 7, AS has insufficient ties with "Community 1" at k = 7 without Darryl Ervin and Te Sootthipong linking her to "Community 1" at that level of k.

As such, while AS has ties with the members of the "Elite Core" such as drummer Aaron James Lee, bassists Ben Poh and Christy Smith, and drummer Wen Ming Soh, these ties are insufficient for the CPMw algorithm to place her in "Community 1" over Community 8 at k = 7, thereby suggesting that she is dividing her time among several groups of musicians, with *The Jazz Djogets* being the group she performed with the most during the sampling period. By purposely not playing with the same groups of people, AS fulfils her goal of uniting the jazz musician community by bridging disparate segments of it through playing with people from all over the Singapore jazz musician community rather than only with people from one segment of it. Thus, as seen from her network position, AS is embodying the Collectivist genre ideal in her networking, with proof being the membership

configuration of Community 8 at various levels of *k*. Through simultaneously embodying two different modes of engagement with jazz music, that is, one fun and one serious, through her diverse musical engagements, Sekine furthers her egalitarian vision of the jazz community by being able to show that jazz can be fun and accessible while at the same time proving that she has the wherewithal to be associated with elites with higher eigenvector centrality scores such as saxophonist Sean Hong Wei (5/491 in terms of eigenvector centrality) drummer Aaron James Lee (1/491) and bassists Ben Poh (8/491) and Christy Smith (2/491).

Thus, Community 8 is testament to AS's efforts to push the Collectivist genre ideal. The *Jazz Djogets'* fun image and danceable music runs counter to the idea that jazz is serious and meant to be enjoyed by a select few. At the same time, AS also shows that she can perform serious jazz music like the music of Ornette Coleman at prestigious venues such as the posh club *Maduro* with such "heavy cats" as Chicago-born drummer Darryl Ervin. Further evidence of her constantly performing with people from different groups is her high betweenness centrality score (see Table 6b: AS ranks 11/491 in terms of betweenness centrality). In this way, she can convince and educate both musicians and non-musicians by showing that jazz can be fun and accessible while still maintaining the high musical standards that some jazz musicians fear might be lost if jazz were to be a more inclusive form of music than it currently is. As evident in the membership configuration of Community 8, AS works to "bridge gaps" (AS) between

segments of the jazz community that are normally not associated with each other, thereby, in Collectivists' view, "futureproofing" the genre.

Table 6b: Top 15 Betweenness Centrality Scores in the Context of the Global Iteration

No.	Name	Betweenness Centrality
1	Greg.Lyons	8779.831
2	Jordan.Wei	8478.695
3	Jeremy.Monteiro	8239.489
4	Rit.Xu	6503.602
5	Eugene.Chew	5969.206
6	Alemay.Fernandez	5596.747
7	Namie.Rasman *	5263.442
8	Ben.Poh	5241.898
9	Darryl.Ervin *	5178.536
10	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong *	3883.707
11	Aya.Sekine *	3832.957
12	Yvette.Atienza	3796.948
13	Fabian.Lim	3762.76
14	Tama.Goh	3617.524
15	Anson.Koh	3472.853

* : Members of Community 2 (k = 5)

Hence, I classify "Aya Sekine and The Jazz Djogets" as a Collectivist community as the personnel included in Community 8 (k = 5, 6, and 7) reflect AS's vision and how she expects to change the jazz community for what she perceives to be the better. Community 8 (k = 5, 6, and 7), *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets* consists of musicians recruited by AS who share her passion for jazz advocacy and believe in her egalitarian vision of jazz and music. These musicians do not come from one specific group but from all over the network, with those who are not members of *The Jazz Djogets* ranking highly in terms of their

betweenness centrality, with, as evident in Table 6b above, 4/15 of those with the highest betweenness centrality scores in the Singapore jazz musician community belonging to Community 8 (k = 5). The lack of overlap between Community 8 (k = 7) and the rest of the communities in the k = 7 iteration of "Community 1" further supports their classification as it is clear that AS was actively involved in roping new members into the jazz musician community as she has not performed sufficiently with members of any other community for her to be grouped together with them at k = 7, thereby suggesting that she was indeed actively working to not be too strongly associated with any pre-existing circle. In doing so, AS is working towards uniting the jazz musician community from within by performing with a varied group of musicians ranging from experienced veterans of the jazz community to new members or members of other musical-artistic communities such as electronic music.

Community 9: Greg Lyons and Groove Works

Community 9 (k = 4), *Greg Lyons and Groove Works*, consists of a network centred around veteran British saxophonist, Greg Lyons (GL). *Groove Works* is the name of Lyons' long-running mentorship programme in which members are split into bands ordered by skill level and experience. These bands are trained over triannual 10-week sessions where they rehearse and perform weekly, with performances taking place in public venues sought out by GL. GL sources for and grooms new talent through this mentorship programme. Indeed, many

prominent local musicians from various genres have passed through this programme. Members of this community come and go with every Groove Works session. Yet, many choose to continue participating in Groove Works session after session, year after year.

As such, Community 9 has a lot of students and is clearly centred around jazz education for newcomers. In GL's words, *Groove Works* is a way of "giving back to the community" (GL), although it might also be his way of "networking down" (Larson & Ready, 2022) by sourcing for fresh talent and grooming them for future collaboration. As such, Community 2 ($k = 4$) is GL's attempt at creating and fostering his own unique community. Community 9 shares enough overlap with Communities 10, 11, and 12 to be included in the same cluster of communities when the CPM algorithm is run on the community graph. Thus, I classify this community as a Collectivist community – a community that, like *Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets*, revolves around jazz advocacy and actively roping in new members to the Singapore jazz musician community.

Community 10: The Blue Monks

Community 10, *The Blue Monks*, is a collective that mostly organises jam sessions around Singapore. Over the years, they have carved a niche for themselves in creating and curating beginner-friendly jazz jam sessions in which people of all skill levels are welcome to participate. With a core of bassist Bani Rahman, saxophonist Corey Manders, and drummer Rafaee "Raf" Mahmood (RM), *The Blue Monks*

are represented here by those that have performed with them during the sampling period. *The Blue Monks* share overlaps with Community 9, 11, and 12 and are classified into the same community of communities when the CPM algorithm is run on the community graph. This overlapping structure can be explained by the fact that all three of these communities are involved in spreading the gospel of “community jazz” (RM), that is, a participatory, relatable, and non-snobbish form of jazz in which everybody, regardless of skill level or background, is welcome to participate.

These communities are all involved in either making jazz accessible, introducing new members to the community through education or advocacy, and performing accessible jazz or jazz-related music. They also share overlaps with many groups because of the brass players associated with them who are in demand in big bands or larger-than-usual ensembles as soloists or as part of the horn section. Examples include saxophonist Andreas Marinello who plays with the *Thomson Big Band* and *Tropic Green* (Community 16), and trombonist Eriko Murakami who is a founding member of the *New Stream Brass Band* (Community 11). Thus, as this community is also involved in jazz “cultural evangelism” (Griswold & Wohl, 2015) through their persistent organisation of long-running beginner-friendly jazz jam sessions, I classify them as Collectivist.

Community 11: New Stream Brass Band

Community 11, *New Stream Brass Band*, comprise members of a popular New Orleans-style brass band founded by drummer Yohei Kanda and trombonists Eriko Murakami in 2014. They describe themselves as “the first-ever [sic] Singapore-based New Orleans style [sic] brass band that blends jazz, funk, latin and hip-hop styles with traditional New Orleans brass sounds” (New Stream Brass Band, 2019). As a brass band, they are a niche outfit with an unusual instrumentation and thus have a unique mix of musicians (e.g., trombone, sousaphone, trumpet, bass, drums). To illustrate, their instrumentation includes a sousaphone – an instrument that almost nobody plays in contemporary jazz settings. Their longevity, however, is testament to their popularity – their event, the “New Orleans Night”, was reaching into its fiftieth volume right before pandemic restrictions hit Singapore in April 2020. Despite that, they are not central to the jazz community as they are not only small in size but also share minimal overlap with other communities.

Community 11 shares two members with Community 10 (*The Blue Monks*), in the form of founding members percussionist Yohei Kanda and trombonist Eriko Murakami (see Appendix B) and are thus included into the Collectivist cluster of communities when the CPM algorithm is run on the community graph (the graph with nodes as communities). I thus classify them as a Collectivist community due to the overlap they share with the previous two Collectivist communities

as well as the nature of their music – to curate fun, danceable performances that educate and entertain new audiences via an "authentic" (New Stream Brass Band, 2019) portrayal of New Orleans jazz. Their inclusion of educational components in their promotional materials such as information on the background and history of New Orleans brass band music supports this classification as, as with the other Collectivist communities, the *New Stream Brass Band* is trying to both educate and rope new audiences into the jazz community by pushing what they perceive as an authentic but accessible and beginner-friendly jazz entertainment. As with the other Collectivist communities, they seek to present an image of jazz as a fun and accessible art form.

Community 12: Sinclair Ang and the Rhythmakers

Finally, Community 12, *Sinclair Ang and the Rhythmakers*, is a small community represented by jazz dancer-cum-vocalist Sinclair Ang and the rhythm section of his band, *The Rhythmakers*. *The Rhythmakers* are a jazz band that accompanies jazz dance sessions and events under *Jazz Inc.*, the jazz dance company that Ang himself founded and runs. According to their website, *The Rhythmakers* are "a collective of jazz musicians under Sinclair's leadership, playing in the style and repertoire of Swing Dance standards" (Jazz Inc., n.d.). As such, their jazz music is meant to accompany jazz dance and is on the accessible, danceable side, as is that of *The Jazz Djogets* and *The New Stream Brass Band*'s – other Collectivist communities attempting to

educate people about jazz culture through music and dance while entertaining them at the same time. It is thus no surprise that Community 6 (k = 4), apart from Community 1 (k = 4) which almost every community has an overlap with, shares overlaps with Communities 2 (k = 4) and 3 (k = 4) as all three are communities looking to portray jazz as a fun and accessible form of music while educating and roping in new audiences.

The Eclectic World: Openness as Closure

The lack of a clear evaluative criteria – of which the haphazard musical portfolios and lack of common preferences for musical genres is an artifact – explains why Eclectic communities do not share any overlap with each other as the members of every Eclectic community perceive themselves to be unique and different from every other community including other Eclectic communities. Artifacts of weakly-defined boundaries, Eclectic communities take on a diverse array of forms and represent a diverse range of non-traditional jazz genres. Due to their “cultural laxity” (Lamont, 1992) or the lack of sharpness in their classification scheme, Eclectics are only observable through negation – communities classified as Eclectic are only visible in the network as residual and almost-isolated communities left behind after having classified all the other communities. They do not seem to be interested in marshalling together or, indeed, engaging in boundary-work at all, preferring instead to exist within their own bubbles of personnel – personnel who also do not perform with others in the jazz

musician community. Eclectic communities are thus not united in any way and only share the smallest of overlaps with other communities and with each other.

Unlike adopters of the other three networking styles, members of Eclectic communities do not often perform with members of other Eclectic communities as they have differing ideas about what constitutes “open-mindedness”, “fun”, and “discovery”, even if they agree on these being important evaluative criteria (DH, GL, TO, RX, YH). As they prioritise singular uniqueness and personal relationships, Eclectics tend to stay within their own circles – circles whose ties consist of strong relationships between them and their collaborators in their journey of musical exploration. Thus, the Eclectic communities are comprised of musicians who, by nature or design notwithstanding, do not fit into any of the other three worlds. The Eclectic world comprises communities that do not share much overlap with each other. They are named as such because their style cannot be easily classified nor do they collaborate much with each other or with any of the other communities.

Community 13: Dawn Ho and Indigo

Community 13, *Dawn Ho and Indigo*, is represented by a band that has been labelled a “samba-jazz” (Abdul Hadi, 2014) outfit. They do not describe themselves as a jazz band, instead opting to describe themselves as “the first band outfit here (in Singapore) to offer authentic Brazilian-samba styled music from the 60’s, samba funk of

the 70's and also Brazilian electronica" (Ho, n.d.). These descriptions already show that they are an Eclectic community comprising musicians that are more loosely related to jazz than most others in the network. Indeed, other than the thin overlap they share with "Community 1" (k = 4) through vocalist Dawn Ho (DH), a vocalist with a wide-ranging portfolio that spans everything from pop music, bebop, and Brazilian funk, they do not share any overlap with any of the other communities. In view of how they do not share much overlap with other communities including those labelled as Eclectic and represent niche jazz sub-genres, I classify this community as an Eclectic community.

Community 14: Alina Ramirez and Ireson Latin Jazz Band

Community 14 is the only completely isolated community in the Singapore jazz musician community: Community 7 (k = 4). This community, *Alina Ramirez and Ireson Latin Jazz Band*, is represented by Mexican pianist Alina Ramirez, bassist Mario Lopez, and their frequent collaborators. Many people in their community speak Spanish with 4 out of 5 of the people represented in this community hailing from Mexico and the only other member of the community, guitarist-vocalist Carlos Sendros, hailing from Spain. Ramirez herself runs the Singapore Latin American Arts and Cultural Centre (LACC SG) which hosts regular Latin-Jazz events. She also regularly organises and performs at Latin-Jazz and Latin American-themed performances all around Singapore mainly with members of this community. From Figure

1, it is clear that these proponents of Singapore's Latin-Jazz scene do not mix around with the rest of the jazz musician community much. As they represent a niche category of jazz music and are isolated, I classify Community 14 as an Eclectic community.

Community 15: The Lorong Boys

Community 15, *The Lorong Boys*, is represented in this community partition by four musicians who received their training in classical music from Singapore's premier conservatory, that is, the Yong Siew Toh Conservatory of Music, and have made forays into the realm of jazz and popular music. According to their website, they are "equally comfortable playing on the hallowed stage of the concert hall as they are on the streets of the heartland" (Lorong Boys, n.d.). Indeed, they can be found playing Top 40s at a shopping centre or corporate event on one day and at a prestigious jazz club or concert hall the next. As technically competent outsiders to the jazz community due to their classical training, they do not share any overlap with any other community other than "Community 1" (k = 4), with which they share two musicians at the overlap. This overlap comes in the form of virtuoso flautist Rit Xu (RX) who is regularly featured in JASS events and violinist David Loke (see Appendix B) who collaborates and performs with influential members of "Community 1" (k = 4) such as keyboardist-composer Chok Kerong. Most of the members of *The Lorong Boys* normally perform classical music, with *The Lorong Boys* being a side-project that they enjoy when they are not teaching or

performing serious classical music. As such, I classify them as an Eclectic community in the context of the Singapore jazz musician community as their brand of classical jazz-pop is a niche category and they do not share any overlap with the other communities labelled as Eclectic.

Community 16: Susan Harmer-Lauw and Tropic Green

Community 16, *Susan Harmer-Lauw and Tropic Green*, are represented here by pianist-composer Susan Harmer-Lauw and three of her most frequent collaborators. Trumpeter Chua Siong Loo, saxophonist Fabian Lim, drummer Pablo Calzado, and trombonist Regan Wickman accompany her to represent this segment of the Singapore jazz musician community. All four of these musicians mostly play together in two settings: the band *Tropic Green* and the *Thomson Big Band*. *Tropic Green* is a somewhat large combo band which usually performs in groups of six to twelve people. Harmer-Lauw showcases her compositions through this band at various jazz venues in Singapore such as Blujaz Café and the Esplanade. Many of this community's members also perform with the *Thomson Big Band.* The *Thomson Big Band* is the premier segment of the *Thomson Jazz Club* – a community of jazz enthusiasts which is segmented into two or three big bands. As such, the *Thomson Big Band* performs for glitzy events such as the F1 Singapore night race and primatologist Dr. Jane Goodall's visit to Singapore.

Community 16 mostly consists of middle-aged musicians, many of whom teach in prestigious music schools and international schools in Singapore, with involvement in *Tropic Green* likely a means through which these musicians have fun and express themselves when they are not working their day jobs. As such, they are mostly self-contained, with the overlap between them and "Community 1" (k = 4) attributed to trumpeter Chua Siong Loo and saxophonist Fabian Lim – both of whom also play for JASSO. With their brand of fusion jazz from the tropics, Tropic Green represents a niche category in the Singapore jazz musician community that shares minimal overlap with other communities and no overlap between themselves and the other Eclectic communities. I thus classify them as an Eclectic community.

Empirical Chapter 3: The Work of Recombination and the Search for Niche

Introduction and Overview

Having fleshed out the ideal-typical genre ideals, unpacked their evaluative criteria, and explained the community structure of the Singapore jazz musician community in the last two empirical chapters, I now, in my third and final empirical chapter, finally focus on the "work of recombination". In this chapter, I focus on the networking styles of "hybrids" or those occupying the overlap between communities. This overlap is both cognitive in terms of genre ideals and social in terms of community membership. Occupying the overlap between genre ideals and their evaluative criteria also means occupying the overlap between communities. Community membership requires the adoption of genre ideals signalled through networking which conveys an awareness of evaluative criteria and thus genre ideal resonance. Thus, adoption of a genre ideal ("cognitive community membership") is a both a precursor and an effect of membership to a community or communities ego's genre ideals resonate with. It is this "cognitive distance" between communities that separates them from each other while also providing the bases of recombinant innovation (de Vaan et al., 2015). The adoption of genre ideals cultivates distinct networking styles in their adopters. The generation of a new networking style that

“successfully” navigates multiple genre ideals is emblematic of a new genre and a new community based on a new genre ideal.

In this chapter, I study cases in which “the work of recombination” is carried out among “hybrid” respondents. Here, I return to the interview and ethnographic data to explore the ways in which “hybrid” respondents generate new, “hybrid” networking styles that allow them to navigate the constraints of the multiple sets of evaluative criteria required for sustaining membership to multiple communities. In doing so, I introduce 6 ideal-typical forms of hybridity. Thus, in this chapter, I flesh out these six ideal-typical recombinations of genre ideals in terms of the ideal-typical genre ideals fleshed out in the previous chapters. In doing so, I unpack the networking practices of the interview respondents whose responses suggested the adoption of more than one genre ideal.

I name ideal-typical recombination as a combination of its two elements as these are genre ideals that are still in the process of stabilisation and have yet to become major genre ideals within the Singapore jazz musician community in the way the principles of the four ideal-typical genre ideals discussed in the previous chapter have worked to organise the Singapore jazz musician network into its distinct but overlapping constituents. In doing so, I make informed guesses regarding the evaluative criteria governing the allocation of peer esteem in communities that might revolve around these genre ideals. In this way, I try to understand the new, “hybrid” forms of

boundary-work engendered in these communities and what kind of genre ideal and networking style one can expect from the members of each ideal-typical community.

By outlining the two derivative genre ideals of each ideal-typical recombination, I specify the unique set of evaluative criteria respondents are confronted with depending on which recombination they adopt. By understanding the various evaluative criteria “hybrid” musicians are confronted with at the overlap, one can better understand the constraints musicians at the overlap are dealing with and thus what the source of the “generative friction” that generates new “knowledge practices” is. In doing so, I show that the “work of recombination” is the work of those seeking to recombine evaluative criteria to create new evaluative criteria. These new evaluative criteria are emblematic of new genre ideals and, thereby new genres. As such, I make the argument that innovation – the emergence of new genres in this case – is a function of actors navigating the exigencies of the respective evaluative criteria of the communities they straddle or seek to straddle.

Successful attempts at “intercohesion”, that is, attempts at “intercohesion” that result in either the sustained membership of ego to the multiple communities at the overlap or the emergence of a new community whose evaluative criteria are generated by its creators, are the difference determining whether ego has cultivated a “robust identity” (Padgett & Ansell, 1993) whose networking strategy has

earned them a network position they can call their own or has become a “nonentity” (Zuckerman et al., 2003) in which involvement in the community is no longer possible due to existing members not being able to understand them. The emergence of a new genre is also the emergence of a new community that potentially takes on a life of its own distinct from its parent communities, with a “life of its own” meaning that the new community generates its own unique set of genre ideals, evaluative criteria, and networking styles that are distinct from those of the new community’s parent communities. Thus, here, I explore how new communities are created among jazz musicians in Singapore. In doing so, I explore how new genres are created among jazz musicians in Singapore. New genre ideals, evaluative criteria, and networking styles are emblematic and generative of new forms of music.

While occupying the overlap between communities is potentially advantageous and thereby a desirable position for some, others are thrust into such positions as what they do and how they do it does not fall neatly into any of the pre-existing categories of practice within any pre-existing community. In this chapter, I shift the focus from ideal-typical adopters of networking styles to those that span networking styles by asking the following research questions: How is the “work of recombination” performed among jazz musicians in Singapore? What does intercohesive labour look like in the context of the Singapore jazz musician community? How do jazz musicians in Singapore navigate tensions of intercohesion and how do they attempt to navigate the

cognitive and social dissonance experienced at the structural folds separating the various “worlds” that comprise the Singapore jazz musician community?

To answer these research questions, I explore how adopters of hybrid genre ideals identified among the interview respondents manage “intercohesive dissonance”, that is, navigate tensions of enacting multiple genre ideals that are potentially conflicting in their evaluative criteria. By doing so, I demonstrate how the “friction” resulting from the intercohesive dissonance experienced by actors occupying the overlap of multiple communities can be generative of new, recombinant networking styles and thereby new genres and communities. In doing so, I make the argument that recombinant innovation and, by extension, genre evolution and emergence, is a function of networking, that is, negotiating one’s self-presentation with one’s social network, in the Singapore jazz musician community. Hybrid genre ideals cultivate hybrid evaluative criteria, and hybrid networking styles. Having thus far identified the four salient genre ideals, the forms of boundary-work they engender, and the worlds that revolve around these ideals, I bring my exploration to its logical end by examining how jazz musicians in Singapore span the boundaries between communities. I do this by first classifying respondents based on the two genre ideals that are most prevalent in their interview and ethnographic data, teasing out the tensions between them, and then exploring how respondents attempt to navigate them in their networking practice. To this end, I draw from case studies involving

hybrid respondents. I limit my analysis to interactions between a maximum of two genre ideals in this chapter as I am not so much looking to completely explain every decision undertaken by respondents as I am concerned with how they attempt to navigate otherwise potentially conflicting evaluative criteria and networking styles in their networking practices and how the struggle between the evaluative criteria inherent to these genre ideals is potentially generative of novel networking practices and, concordantly, new genres. Doing so sheds light on processes through which intercohesion and, by extension, recombinant innovation and genre evolution and emergence occurs.

In this chapter, I focus on practical problems faced by respondents as they confront the dissonance at the overlap. Instead of showing how respondents resolve these problems, I focus on attempts by respondents to arrive at working solutions to bridge these styles, thereby arguing that it is precisely these exploratory attempts at "bridging", that is, working in a such a way that potentially maintains membership to multiple worlds, that are the basis behind the discovery of knowledge practices that give rise to the generation of new genres. In other words, contrary to Boltanski and Thévenot's (2006) work on actors bridging social worlds by finding lasting resolutions that quash ideological tensions surfacing during social encounters, I argue that it is precisely the ongoing, unresolved tensions between the respective evaluative criteria embedded in the multiple networking styles embodied by respondents are what I argue to be the basis of the

“generative friction” (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010) driving innovation and, by extension, genre evolution and emergence. By so doing, I continue where De Vaan et al. (2015) left off by exploring what happens when social groups intersect.

The goal of this chapter is to show how the “friction” of intercohesion is “generative” by bringing to light some of the ways actors deal with these continually unresolved tensions and how, in doing so, they come up with novel approaches to satisfying the evaluative criteria of the various the genre ideals and communities whose overlap they occupy. Through this, I show respondents perform the “work of recombination” by working in such a way that signals awareness of multiple evaluative criteria. Thus, I begin by detailing the various kinds of hybrids in Table 7. I then follow through by explaining how their attempts at framing their events and presenting themselves are a function of their efforts at navigating the intercohesive dissonance generated by occupying structural folds between ideals and communities.

Table 7: Types of Hybrids

Hybrid Type	***Boundaries Bridged***	***Competing Evaluative Principles***	***Networking Type Engendered***
Purist-Pragmatist	Moral – Socioeconomic	Authenticity – Commercial Success	"Honest Entertainers"; Reluctant Pragmatists
Purist-Collectivist	Moral – Moral	Authenticity – Inclusivity	Community-Minded Traditionalists; Lifelong Jazz Disciples
Purist-Eclectic	Moral – Cultural	Authenticity – Curiosity	"Poly-Purists"; Open-Minded Formalists
Pragmatist-Collectivist	Socioeconomic – Moral	Commercial Success – Selflessness	Civic-Minded Entrepreneurs; Enterprising Folk Artists
Pragmatist-Eclectic	Socioeconomic – Cultural	Commercial Success – Curiosity	"Genre Butterflies"; Versatile Professionals
Collectivist-Eclectic	Moral – Cultural	Jazz Advocacy – Curiosity	Advocates of Humanity; Cosmopolitan Hippies

Purist-Pragmatists: Honest Entertainers

Purist-Pragmatists are simultaneously constrained by the moral evaluative criteria adopted by Purists and the socioeconomic evaluative criteria adopted by Pragmatists. On the one hand, Purists denounce marketing and self-promotion and seek to challenge and resist the neoliberal, capitalist system they perceive to dominate the

world through aesthetic revolution and a general withdrawal from commercial life (AJ, AL, WM). In doing so, they avoid gimmickry in self-presentation and performance and feel like the music should speak for itself without unnecessary embellishment to audiences. Honesty is demonstrated by not “conning” audiences through marketing tactics, with the ultimate test of authenticity lying in the skill and knowledge of jazz and musical culture in general represented in one’s skill on the instrument and knowledge of jazz culture and history. On the other hand, Pragmatists assert that their goal is to entertain audiences and be remunerated fairly for it, with any goal surplus to that deemed indulgent and unnecessary. Worth and value is, to Pragmatists, derived from commercial and professional success that is measured in money or the potential to be able to make money. While Purists exclude those perceived to be dishonest, greedy, and complicit in perpetuating social injustice by exploiting what they deem to be an inherently unfair neoliberal capitalist system that benefits a select few at the expense of the marginalised (AJ, AL, AZ, WM), Pragmatists are realists who accept that they cannot change the way the world works, that one must invest time and effort into learning how to market themselves and their work to succeed (AF, JD, JW, PX). As such, Pragmatists exclude those who do not have the will and drive to succeed in life and in music.

The tension between these two genre ideals primarily revolves around the issue of marketing and self-promotion. While Purists adopt the mindset that only musical skill matters, Purist-Pragmatists reluctantly accept that such thinking is old-fashioned and that the days

in which that mindset could lead to a sustainable career ended with the demise of the record industry. While they would have liked to continue playing what they deem to be authentic jazz – the reason they were drawn to the genre in the first place – they accept, albeit reluctantly, that the state of the music industry and the way the world currently works necessitates serious investment into learning how to market and promote themselves and their work (AF, CS, NS, YZ). Such a narrative can be observed in how guitarist Anson Fung laments that the business aspect of music has “now overtaken … skill” as a means through which musicians are evaluated for gigs (AF). To Purist-Pragmatists, if musicians truly wanted to succeed professionally, they have to sincerely learn and apply themselves to learning the art of showbusiness on top of being already able to play music at a professional level (AF, JW, NS, YZ). Applying themselves to learning how to promote and market themselves and their work is, over and above being a means to succeed financially, justified as a sign of dedication to the art and craft of music to Purist-Pragmatists just as dedicating oneself to practising and learning jazz music and culture is a sign of dedication in Purist circles (AF, CS, NS, YZ). Indeed, AF laments being too lazy to learn how to be more employable and market himself better despite acknowledging the need to do so. In his words, “a man with a stronger will and desire for survival … would probably (have the balls to) do so” (AF). By approaching self-promotion as art and craft, Purist-Pragmatists potentially bridge competing Purist and Pragmatist evaluative principles. In the same way that honesty and dedication is

observed in musical excellence for Purists, honesty and dedication can also be observed in the amount of effort expended on learning about self-promotion and its culture and conventions among Purist-Pragmatists.

With these tensions in mind, Purist-Pragmatists may be viewed as “honest entertainers”, that is, jazz musicians who recognise the value of self-promotion but are also bound to ideals of honesty in doing so and who make efforts to portray themselves and their work as honest as part of a general goal of making an “honest living”, that is, making money in a way that does not involve the deception of audiences. These tensions manifest in Purist-Pragmatists’ approach to self-promotion. One way in which Purist-Pragmatist respondents attempt to resolve tensions between art and commerce is in attempting to market and present themselves as “honest entertainers” who play “honest music” that is devoid of pretence and gimmickry. To them, if one should apply oneself to self-promotion and showbusiness, one should apply oneself fully and without irony (AF, NS, YZ). Doing so means one must to appreciate the “sovereignty” of genre styles by acknowledging that certain genres have their own conventions that must be adhered to if one is to respect the culture of that genre (AF, JW). For instance, AF recognises that exaggerating movements on stage are part of playing pop or rock music “authentically” (AF). When “re-cognised” (Stark, 2009) this way, showmanship is no longer seen as gimmickry but as a form of respect to the genre and its intended audience (AF, JW, YZ). As such, Purist-Pragmatists should ideally be

able to code-switch between genres both in terms of self-presentation and musical style, with effective code-switching perceived as an expression of a familiarity with diverse conventions that must be honed through experience and practise (AF, JW, YZ). The importance of being able to code-switch is underlined by pianist Jordan Wei (JW) in the excerpt below where he recalls playing a pop gig with a full band of jazz musicians who did not abide by pop music conventions:

> The criteria is very different (for pop and jazz gigs). … I've actually played a gig where we had five jazz musicians on a pop gig. … It's the typical 'oh the client wants a jazz band for the wedding', then after that the song list is all pop. So… I found it very *laughs* funny, that the jazz musicians couldn't play straight (time). *laughs* … They … try to, like, swing everything or just change the music somehow whereas the audience didn't want that. So you also have to learn what the audience wants in different settings as well.
>
> (JW, pianist, 31-40 years old)

As seen in the excerpt, Purist-Pragmatists recognise that different settings call for different conventions that require different approaches to formal musical aspects such as rhythm, as is the case here as he is talking about differences in time feel[26] between pop and jazz settings, and harmony. In the excerpt, JW confronts the Purist requirement of authenticity by turning it on its head and calls out jazz musicians for not being able to respect pop music conventions by not being able to play "straight" time, instead imposing "swung" time upon music not meant to be played that way[27]. In this way, Wei navigates Purist and

[26] "Time feel" differs from "time" in music as it refers not to the meter or rhythm of the music but how it is interpreted. Similar meters and rhythms can be expressed differently depending on who plays them. See Iyer (2002) for more detail on "expressive microtiming".

[27] At the most basic level, "straight" time differs from "swung" time in that the notes that are played are in "duple time" and not in triple time. "Swung" time is a defining

Pragmatist evaluative criteria by justifying adherence to pop music conventions in terms of applying the Purist principle of authenticity to the performance of pop music – a realm of music that is usually not taken seriously. By “re-cognising” what might be considered cheesy to Purists in terms of the conventions of a genre that require respect and care, JW generates an attitude towards self-promotion that potentially circumvents the Purist requirement of authenticity and the Pragmatist requirement of commercial success. Here, the strategy JW and the other Purist-Pragmatists involves applying the principle of authenticity onto pop music as another genre requiring cultural knowledge that is not lower than but on equal standing as jazz in the hierarchy of music genres, thereby enacting egalitarianism by dismissing genre hierarchies that privilege jazz as a superior genre to pop.

Fig. 2: Page from Liner of Saxman Koh's Album, *SAX is all around* (2006; Genie Records)

(Source: https://i.discogs.com/AwAhHeeq9xze8trHoJIJulsNEU0zwZpdUJVfT1Hc8ts/rs:fit/g:sm/q:90/h:600/w:597/czM6Ly9kaXNjb2dz/LWRhdGFiYXNlLWlt/YWdlcy9SLTg3NTYx/ODEtMTQ2ODA4NzY2/MC0yOTk1LmpwZWc.jpeg; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

Accordingly, Purist-Pragmatists admire those who can code-switch between popular and artistic genres as well as those who have mastered the "art" of marketing and showbusiness on top of having

already mastered their instrument. To this end, AF cites famous Thai saxophonist Saxman Koh (pictured in Fig. 2) as one of his idols. In AF's view, Saxman Koh has managed to elevate showbusiness to an art

form through his mastery of the “tangkap”[28], that is, the skill of being able to get on the good side of audiences and other musicians, both in social situations and on stage.

> AF: Some musicians are really good at it like … Koh Mr Saxman … Eh fuck. Love that guy man. I really really like that guy. *breaks out into a laugh and smile and rubs his head* … His tangkap is so good, I really really like- *mimics Saxman Koh’s Thai accent* “Oh my, my friend, you play so good!” I genuinely, genuinely like that shit. … He has made me a fan! Really like, really a fan! *laughs* (He’s) the first dude (that) I became a fan of when I listened to his show. Fuck that’s so good!
>
> BL: Are you a fan of the way he tangkap or do you like him as a person or do you like his playing or-
>
> AF: Everything! Everything! Everything, yeah. I like the show, and like the little bit of cheesy, … kind of weird ass kind of adult swim kind of situations. He’s not like that, but I just like (it) lah. Funny, kinda thing, like fucking full jazz band in front of chicken rice stall or some shit…
>
> (AF, guitarist, 31-40 years old)

The campy way in which Saxman Koh markets himself is admired by AF because AF feels that that reflects who Saxman Koh is – someone who humbly accepts that that is what audiences want and that that is what he needs to do to continue his work as an honest musician trying to get better at his craft while also caring for himself and his loved ones. In Fung’s view, by unironically adhering to pop conventions such as smiling and using corny catchphrases like “Here, There, and Everywhere, SAX is all around” (see Fig. 2), Saxman Koh displays a willingness to put his ego aside in providing entertainment that is authentic to the audiences he is engaging. In this way, ideal-typical Purists are implicitly denounced by Fung for being selfish and indulgent as they are too conceited to understand that pop audiences

understand authenticity differently. In Fung's view, Saxman Koh is one of those who has managed to be a "tactful hoe" (AF), that is, someone who has, in Fung's opinion, managed to "whore" himself out in an acceptable manner. As seen in the excerpt, rather than morally condemning Saxman Koh for his stage gimmicks and servile flattery as an ideal-typical Purist might, Fung acknowledges that people like Saxman Koh have the "will to survive" (AF) in an unfair world. In this sense, Saxman Koh is forgiven as he markets himself in a way that AF perceives to be "honest", that is, in such a way that it is clear that he is marketing himself and engaging in business as opposed to covertly marketing oneself – something that Purist-Pragmatists might accuse Purists of doing by concealing a lust for clout through performances of disinterestedness and enacting a narrative of "suffering for art". To AF, Saxman Koh's efforts to ham it up shows that he is doing his job well. Doing his job well allows him to make a living and to care for his family and loved ones, something that Fung states is "way cooler than being a fuckin' loser artist musician" (AF).

As such, Purist-Pragmatists differentiate their marketing from ideal-typical Pragmatists in that they see their marketing and self-promotion as more honest than that of ideal-typical Pragmatists. They distinguish themselves from ideal-typical Purists and Pragmatists in how they purport to be aware that they are putting on a show. At the same time, they do not think they are exaggerating their worth or manipulating audiences into buying something they do not already want or need as, after all, on top of the music, it is also the show with

all its performance and marketing conventions that audiences want and, as the popular marketing aphorism goes, the consumer is always right (AF, JW, NS, YZ). AF respects Saxman Koh because he feels that, as kooky as Saxman Koh might be, that kookiness and awkwardness in selling himself is part of who Saxman Koh truly is as a person (AF). As such, when audiences relate to him and buy tickets to watch him, they are not relating to a false “image” of him but the “true” him, kookiness and all. In AF’s view, Saxman Koh can, on top of being a virtuoso on his instrument, also market himself well but also do so in a way that is simultaneously entertaining yet honest (AF).

As Purist-Pragmatist bassist Yi Zhe Seow (YZ) puts it, one is not “selling out” or “selling your soul” if one has “nothing to hide” and is “not deceiving anybody” (YZ) as one is then simply earning money for being oneself. In YZ’s words, the kind of gigs Purist-Pragmatists would take on can be summed up as gigs that are “closer to art, less to entertainment” (YZ). As he says, “I will make it sure that it’s entertaining, but I would need it to be art” (YZ). Such an attitude sums up the evaluative criteria of Purist-Pragmatists regarding the kinds of gigs they would rather take on, how they would present themselves and these gigs, and who they would rather collaborate with. Purist-Pragmatists strive to strike the “delicate balance” (YZ) between being authentic to themselves and the music and “selling out” in terms of conforming to market expectations through aiming to provide “honest entertainment” as “honest entertainers”. In deploying principles of relativisation by treating pop music with the reverence they approach

the jazz tradition and its conventions with, pop music is framed as a unique genre with its own forms of authenticity and its own performance conventions that must be respected. In this way, the “honest entertainer” genre ideal is crafted by Purist-Pragmatists doing the “work of recombination” in navigating Purist and Pragmatist evaluative criteria.

Purist-Collectivist: Community-Minded Traditionalists

The main tension that Purist-Collectivists face stems from the different ways in which moral boundaries are enacted between ideal-typical Purists and Collectivists. Ideal-typical Purists draw moral boundaries against those who are perceived as lacking honesty and integrity, with the primary test of “realness” manifested in how one approaches and plays music. They interpret a high level of skill and knowledge of jazz music and culture as a sure-fire way of knowing whether one is for real or not when one says that one loves jazz music. The idea is that if one loves jazz music, one would do everything possible to get better at it. The hours spent practising and learning about jazz that could have been spent on socialising or marketing are shown in the skill of the musician being evaluated. As a high level of skill in playing jazz is seen as both a signal of dedication to music and a rejection of being a part of an immoral and oppressive society, it is seen favourably in Purist circles (AJ, AL, CS, WM).

Such an outlook, however, is potentially problematic for Collectivists when it results in elitism among jazz musicians and when it causes jazz musicians to “forget to be human”, that is, when, in their quest for self-actualisation, they “forget to be nice people” in losing their sense of empathy and cease to be kind to others (WX). Collectivists draw moral boundaries against those who are deemed selfish and elitist as such traits are seen to be leading to the obscurity and death of the genre (AS, RM). Correspondingly, they include those who are deemed selfless, with selflessness measured by how much one is deemed to be helping the jazz community or society in general. To Collectivists, improving one’s musical skill is justified not in terms proving one’s loyalty to the genre but in terms of benefiting the genre community. As such, the tension that Purist-Collectivists contend with pertains to how one can improve oneself without being exclusionary – Purist-Collectivists constantly grapple with questions of how they can improve themselves while benefiting the community, that is, improving themselves along with and not at the expense of others (AZ, EW, ND, WX). While musical growth is important as musical excellence belies dedication to the genre to ideal-typical Purists, it is, however, only acceptable to Purist-Collectivists insofar as it can also be of use to the community.

Similarly, while community-building is important to Collectivists, it is a worthwhile consideration to Purist-Collectivists insofar as it can result in self-improvement for everybody including oneself. A point of tension coming from the Purist aspect pertains to how the jazz

community can be grown without pandering to uncultured audiences and losing the essence of the music and its associated core values in the quest to sustain the genre (AZ, ND, WX). The problem ideal-typical Purists have with Collectivists trying to project jazz as an inclusive and participatory genre is that by ‘watering it down’ for the sake of inclusivity, the genre loses its rigour – a distinguishing factor for jazz in the eyes of ideal-typical Purists. The challenge for Purist-Collectivists is therefore to make jazz more accessible while maintaining high standards of musical excellence and preserving the authenticity of jazz.

Fig. 3: Jazz at the Red Dot (J@RD) Event Poster 2019

(Source: https://artsrepublic.sg/assets/Posters/8-20190809-jazz-the-red-dot.jpg; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

A telling example of how these tensions play out can be seen in how vocalist Alemay Fernandez (AZ) speaks of her involvement as key member of *Jazz Asia*, the company that organised jazz workshop *Jazz @ the Red Dot* (J@RD) in 2019 (poster provided in Fig. 3 above). When asked about whether she saw her involvement in the workshop as a means of "growing the genre", she answered with a vigorous "Yes" followed by a detailed reflection on her experiences organising and facilitating the workshop:

> Yes, exactly! *vehement nod* *Jazz Asia* is about … about jazz education for every level. We don't care whether you are beginner or professional. We treat everybody the same way, we come in (to the workshop) and it's a collaboration. It's a giant jam session. … We all share a love for jazz, and this our space to enjoy that. And we get to learn from really good musicians. Right? That was the point of *Jazz Asia*. Bringing really high quality jazz education from the masters … to you. And it didn't matter whether you were just a jazz fan, like just starting out, amateur, thinking about (learning) it or you were already a pro or a teacher or a lecturer or a… whatever. Whatever your level of interest was, we were trying to bring everybody together just for the love of jazz. Just that basic *clasps hands together* love of jazz. Y'know? And we come together and we all learn from these amazing musicians that we've managed to bring in from the New York scene and just let them impart their knowledge. … And it wasn't just a "oh you are the teacher and I am the student" (kind of situation), because after the workshop everybody would hang out. Right? You go for lunch, you go for a drink, you go for a jam session… you know? So you didn't just get to learn from these great musicians. You got to hang with them and listen to their stories and- You know?
>
> And that to me is the *best* part of being a jazz musician. Y'know? It's the Hang. It's the part where you get to sit down with the great musicians (and ask) "Oh so what was it like to play with Miles (Davis)? What was it like to play with Dizzy (Gillespie)? What was it like in those days?" You know? "What was the jazz scene like? The *original* jazz scene." Right? What was it like to play with Duke and Count and, like.. you know.. you know what I mean? They were a part of history and … a part of the story of

> jazz and.. when you get to sit down and talk to that person face-to-face, that is a very powerful thing. That never ever leaves you! You know? That experience never leaves you. You are always going to remember that, you're always going to remember the stories that they were telling you, and you're always going to remember the really fun time you had with them. … In its own little way, it makes you a better musician. Right? Just being able to say that "I got to do that!" You know?
>
> And so.. hopefully, a collection of those experiences happen for you, and they fuel your love and your passion and they keep you going. And that's what we're trying to do (with J@RD).
>
> (AZ, vocalist, 41-50 years old)

The way that AZ attempts navigates Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria is to invoke the principle of authenticity to assign positions in a hierarchy at J@RD, with those invited from New York City justified in their positions of cultural authority through proximity to jazz history rather than through skill, knowledge, or other achievements.

In this excerpt, AZ attempts to resolve the tension between Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria by showing how J@RD is not elitist, portraying it as a means of connecting with where the music came from rather than learning from people who were better than you, with the direction of instruction justified due to the teachers' stronger connection with canonised jazz masters such as trumpeters Miles Davis and Dizzy Gillespie.

From the beginning of her description of the workshop, AZ draws attention to how the workshop is inclusive by saying "it's about jazz education for every level", that they "don't care whether you are beginner or professional", and that they "treat everybody the same way" regardless of status. By emphasising the flat hierarchy and

appealing to the love of jazz as the motivation for participating in the workshop, AZ downplays the notion that some participants sign up because they want to become better than others at playing jazz, thereby downplaying the idea that some people sign up because they want to gain a competitive edge over their peers. As AZ reiterates, “whatever your level of interest”, the workshop was designed to “bring everybody together just for the love of jazz”, with everybody of equal status enjoying authentic, communal interaction with jazz masters who have connections with the “original jazz scene” – the source of the music that everybody at the workshop is supposed to love. As such, one signs up for J@RD not because of wanting to dominate others but because they want to become part of a community of jazz lovers who admire and want to learn from authentic jazz masters in an inclusive yet stimulating environment.

Through structuring J@RD with an eye for egalitarianism of status and authenticity of tradition, AZ demonstrates how self-improvement can happen collectively and the community can be grown in a way that does not compromise on standards of authenticity. By emphasising the communal, informal style of learning championed by J@RD, AZ distinguishes the workshop from formal jazz lessons in universities. By getting to “hang with them and listen to their stories”, participants receive a more holistic experience that is framed as more authentic than formal jazz lessons in a classroom. In this way, AZ navigates Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria. On the Purist front, worries about compromising on aesthetic quality in the quest for growing the genre

community are appeased by bringing in musicians for J@RD from New York City who clearly have the musical skills and the historical connections to be able to satisfy their expectations of authenticity and skill. On the Collectivist front, concerns that such events may be elitist and not participatory enough are appeased by assurances that everybody is able to take part regardless of skill level, with the workshop designed in a way that allows tailored instruction in a protected, egalitarian setting for all, with even the hierarchy between teachers and students played down as a matter of circumstance that is dissolved during the casual “hangs” that students get to experience after workshop hours.

Another potential way of navigating Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria is through promoting healthy competition among jazz musicians. From such healthy competition, as skill levels increase, the community will be noticed for its high level of skill in “authentic” jazz, thereby potentially attracting the right kind of crowd and growing the genre community in an organic way. The community is grown in the ‘right’ way when new members to the jazz community are attracted ‘for the right reasons’ with the ‘right kind’ of new members attracted, thereby maintaining quality standards pertaining to what they believe to be the authenticity of jazz culture in the process. When jazz is made accessible and inclusive in the ‘right’ way, the Collectivist criteria of inclusivity is more acceptable to Purists. In the following case, pianist Weixiang Tan (WX) “re-cognises” Collectivist evaluative criteria as a

means of creating a scene that can help musicians improve more than if there was no such scene.

As suggested by AZ above, to Purist-Collectivists, the best environment in which to learn jazz is to learn it collectively (AZ, ND, WX). Purist-Collectivists feel that there is something to learn from everybody, regardless of status (CS). To illustrate, WX explains how an "every man for himself" kind of culture led to "insular thinking" and "pretty mediocre musicianship" when he was a younger musician and how he, as someone who has realised this and is now in a better position to be able to change things as a more senior musician, is working to foster community among the "next generation of jazz musicians" through getting them to do work together more (WX). In that way, the level of musicianship increases as a result of the "peer pressure" that comes from collaborating together more as a community, with the "peer pressure" less a form of dominating others and claiming the title of "best musician" for oneself and more of a form of collective learning and a striving towards excellence generated through being inspired by one's compatriots in jazz (WX). To Purist-Collectivists, it is this project of collective learning that potentially resolves the tension between individual and collective growth central to their hybrid ethos. In this excerpt, WX talks about how his attitude towards being a jazz musician has changed over the years he has been involved in jazz and how he believes that fostering a sense of community can lead to an overall higher level of musicianship for all:

> I think my relationship with music has changed quite drastically over the past ten years. Initially, you know, it was like pretty much the same as everybody else. I just wanna play good music, you know? As well as possible. *laughs* Yeah. Stuff like that. But recently because of the opportunities that I've been given, I see myself in a much different light as well. Now my goal is to contribute to the scene here in Singapore in some kind of meaningful fashion. I'm also the Associate Musical Director for Jazz Association of Singapore and through that we do influence quite a number of musicians and … do a lot of community work.
>
> So, a big part of what I want to achieve with this is to get the next generation of jazz musicians more involved in working together, right? Not like in a union sense but more as a unified er body of musicians doing good stuff, you know, be it community work, or just writing, performing together. Things like that. The back-story would be when I was a young musician in my twenties, these things never existed – it was like every man for himself? And it was very clear that that approach led to very insular thinking as well as, you know, pretty mediocre musicianship. Yeah. Things have changed. The level of music has gone way up since then, but I think we still have a role to play in you know, basically helping to chart the direction of the industry, right? By influencing the younger musicians. Yeah.
>
> When I was starting out, it was, like I said, every man for himself. I was really really lucky to have found a few mentors along the way but that was it. If I didn't (find mentors), basically, you know, you are your own person and that was it. But then again if you wanted to improve as a musician, it's very important to have some kind of peer pressure, I suppose? Some kind of like peer learning involved that wasn't really quite apparent in Singapore, you know, ten years ago.. Just because everybody was playing the same songs the same way… It was, like, very sad. *laughs*
>
> (WX, pianist, 41-50 years old)

Here WX explains how his "relationship with music" changed due to the new hats he has had to wear due to the "opportunities" he has been given to be someone who is in a more senior and influential position within the Singapore jazz musician community. Instead of being just like "everyone else" who "just wanna play good music", WX now sees himself as someone who, on top of wanting to become a better musician, is responsible for the future of the community as

someone who can now help to “chart the direction” of it (WX). As such, he feels that he owes it to himself to provide opportunities for the “next generation” to improve that he did not have as someone who came up when the community was much more atomised than it currently is. In his view, this “every man for himself” state goes hand in hand with “pretty mediocre musicianship” as it led to “insular thinking” among musicians, resulting in musicians not interacting or pushing each other to improve creatively or technically. As such, fostering a sense of community in which musicians are interacting more with each other creates a state in which “peer learning” happens – a state which Tan feels contributes to a generally higher level of musicianship and creativity in the Singapore jazz musician community.

In this way, Purist and Collectivist genre ideals are potentially appeased. The first tension that is potentially resolved through WX’s efforts involves the tension between improving oneself and improving the rest of the community. WX’s goals of fostering healthy competition and “peer learning” among the community allows self-improvement via improving the overall level of musicianship in the community rather than at the expense of the rest of the community. Also, by way of fostering community and getting younger musicians involved in community work, Purist ideals of making society more egalitarian through music are achieved. Thus, in the view of Purist-Collectivists, engaging in community work does not have to come at the expense of practise time as, through engaging in community work, younger musicians are not only playing and preparing for gigs that contribute to

a good cause but also immersing themselves in jazz culture through being agents of progressive change in the same way their bebop forebears were engaged in civil rights activities against oppression and supporting marginalised and discriminated groups through their musical involvement (AZ, ND, WX).

As such, the Purist-Collectivist networking style, “Community-Minded Traditionalists”, is engendered as a result of the tensions between Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria. Purist-Collectivists aim to preserve and transplant the ideals and principles of bebop’s “scene-based” (Lena, 2012; Lena & Peterson, 2008) days into the 21st century as a means of collective self-improvement and societal betterment. As life-long disciples of jazz, Purist-Collectivists constantly seek opportunities to educate themselves and others.

Purist-Eclectic: Poly-Purists

The main tension between Purist and Eclectic evaluative criteria derives from where to draw the line between delving deeper into the jazz tradition and moving past it to find one’s own sound or learn about other genres. The main criteria for Purists as those who draw moral boundaries is that one is authentic and honest, with honesty and authenticity measured by not only how well one can play one’s instrument, but also, and possibly more importantly, how well one is perceived to understand the jazz tradition. The main criteria for Eclectics as people who draw cultural boundaries based on open-mindedness is that the music they play is fun and interesting –

Eclectics endeavour to not be restricted by tradition and are on a quest for musical discovery. Purist-Eclectic hybrids thus consist of those who are looking to define their own sound, except that they differ from ideal-typical Eclectics through the belief that for one to find one's own sound, one must first learn about the traditions and boundaries of the genres they are interested in. The difference between them and ideal-typical Purists is that they are learning about the jazz tradition with the end goal of moving past it and applying it to create their own niche. The difference between them and ideal-typical Eclectics is that they feel that their own sound should "come from somewhere", that is, be rooted in traditions or forms, and want to be seen as less haphazard and more analytical in their approach to finding their own sound.

As such, taking a page from Goldberg et al. (2016), I label the networking style engendered by the interaction between their respective evaluative criteria "Poly-Purist". Purist-Eclectics resemble "poly-purists" (Goldberg et al., 2016) in that they respect the importance of tradition and authenticity in every genre, with the idea that there is something to be discovered in every genre that they might like, with what they like being the "pure forms" of genres across the board (RX, YH). As Goldberg et al. (2016) put it, "poly-purists … exhibit a familiarity with and preference for a variety of cultural categories" (p. 220) and "sample (music) broadly, but only within the confines of established categories" (p. 219). As such, "poly-purists" distinguish themselves from others through showing that they can appreciate various genres in their "pure" forms, that is, projecting an

“appreciation for cultural variety” that “requires the maintenance of genre boundaries” (p. 221). Purist-Eclectics are similar in that they are aware of what distinguishes the genres they patronise from each other and approach their musical practice analytically (RX, YH).

For instance, trumpeter-composer Yi Hao Cui (YH) showcases his awareness of genre boundaries and codes when attempting to describe the kind of music he envisions himself creating and with whom he envisions himself creating it with, explaining that he would prefer to work with “interesting people” who may not necessarily be jazz musicians in the process (YH). In the ensuing discussion, YH describes what he considers to be “modern jazz” and explains why he thinks “jazz” and “classical music” are, in his words, “weak descriptive terms” as they potentially refer to too many things that can hardly fit under a single category when formally categorised:

> YH: I think every genre has interesting and not interesting people. … Obviously I’ll probably want to do something that’s modern jazz. … When I say modern jazz, that means like probably something that uses the ideas of what is commonly known as jazz but in a modern way, which could be like even something as.. er.. controversial as like pop jazz, you know? …
>
> Technically you could call Kenny G modern? I guess? But it’s a very different kind of modern (from what I’m talking about). When I hear the term modern in the context of music right, to me it sounds more like when people talk about contemporary classical compositions. … So, it’s not just to do with chronology. … That’s the whole thing with genres. Like I said, they are descriptive terms that are so loose and it’s not like everyone follows one single dictionary definition. And like when different people use the same term, they might actually be referring to different things, so… Yeah.
>
> BL: Yeah, but that’s when magic happens what. I mean you could even say classical musicians develop their own voice. …

> YH: Yeah. Yeah, but at the same time like the way I feel about classical (music) is like … they're trying not to do [sic] their own voice, as much as they might be saying they are. … There's such a like preconceived notion of what is right and what is wrong that, like, any attempt of having their own voice is kind of moot, I think. Unless you're talking about like, contemporary classical compositions ah. But when I say classical, I'm talking about the more, like, traditional stuff. And that's another term that is very confusing because when you say classical, like, even for myself, sometimes I am talking about Western Art Music as a whole, sometimes I'm talking about like classical, like the Classical era, that means like Mozart. Even Beethoven wouldn't be considered classical. …
>
> BL: *laughs* Yeah so when you say contemporary classical you mean like-
>
> YH: I mean more like twenty-first century composers, the kind who does a lot of avant-garde and like micro-tonal and like weird stuff. Weird to me, but you know, maybe not weird to them. … Like I dunno, oh, like John Cage and… Yeah that kind. Steve Reich… er… maybe, but a bit I guess …, you can also argue that it's more minimalist.
>
> (YH, trumpeter, 21-30 years old)

While YH's preference for working with "interesting people" and his view that "every genre has interesting and not interesting people" immediately suggests that he adopts an Eclectic networking style in that he, in being able to appreciate and be open to collaborations across all styles of music, showcases the open-minded attitude to musical appreciation and collaboration that defines ideal-typical Eclectics, the meticulous way in which he fusses over and defines the formal-musical boundaries of his creative project belies his adoption of the "poly-purist" ethos. While YH may project himself as open-minded in the sense that he seems to be open to collaborating across a very wide range of genres, he is also very aware of what aspects of this wide range of genres he likes and does not like. This can be seen in

how he meticulously qualifies and defines what he means by “modern jazz” where he explicitly says he is referring to the “contemporary classical composition” definition of “modern” in contrast to a “chronological” definition of “modern” which could possibly include the music of Kenny G – someone whose music YH does not explicitly condemn in displaying his open-mindedness, instead using Kenny G a benchmark against which to define his evaluative criteria. In the same vein, YH displays his knowledge of musicological discourse and “genre codes” (Goldberg et al., 2016) when delineating what he means by “contemporary classical composers” and comparing the music of 21st-century composers John Cage and Steve Reich.

In this light, YH resembles a “poly-purist” in how he “exhibits a familiarity with and preference for a variety of cultural categories” (Goldberg et al., 2016, p. 220) while also discriminating against “unpure” expressions of genres – something that requires a strong awareness of genre boundaries to achieve – with YH’s awareness of and dissatisfaction with genre boundaries showing when he painstakingly defines genres boundaries such as for “modern jazz” and “contemporary classical music” and discusses nuanced differences between (musicological) sub-genres while also providing various musical examples of proponents of the various genres and sub-genres he purports to be engaging with as part of his creative vision. Thus, as seen in the excerpt, YH projects an open-mindedness befitting of an ideal-typical Eclectic while simultaneously being aware of what formally constitutes genre boundaries. As such, he is able to speak

eloquently about what he likes and does not like and make the complex argument that pre-existing genre terms fail to describe the kind of music he envisions himself creating – music that transcends existing genre boundaries while still being "grounded" in a formal lineage that YH is able to delineate and trace.

In the same vein, Rit Xu (RX), a flautist who comes from a background in Chinese folk music, classical music, and jazz, speaks articulately about formal differences between classical and jazz conventions regarding tone and rhythm when describing the difficulties he has faced while switching between jazz and classical music performance settings:

> In the beginning I was having trouble with finding one unified sound in terms of how I play? Like the tone (of the flute). Yeah. I was having trouble in the beginning. But now I think I'm at a level where I'm better able to change my sound in order to fit the context. Yeah because if you're playing with a rhythm section and it's driving, you can't be playing with that sweet classical tone..? No one is going to hear you, you know what I mean? *smiles* And yeah you can't do rubato shit if it's all about time right? That's actually one of the biggest things that I noticed with a lot of classically trained musicians: it's the concept of the rubato. The concept of groove and rubato. That's another topic man, we can (talk about it) another day *laughs*!
>
> (RX, flautist, 31-40 years old)

Here, RX showcases an awareness of (musicological) genre boundaries between classical and jazz music in explaining how he had to learn how to "code-switch" between both genres in terms of his approach to tone ("you can't be playing with that sweet classical tone")

and time (“you can’t do rubato[29] shit if it’s all about time”). This awareness of genre conventions and his willingness to learn how to code-switch enacts egalitarianism as it shows how he does not pit either genre against each other in terms of status and quality, instead choosing to see them as simply genres that are not superior or inferior to each other that are defined by different performance conventions. By simultaneously adopting a “bird’s eye view” as a visitor to both genres that is aware of what defines them, RX is able to “code-switch” and adopt the position of a ‘familiar stranger’ to both genre communities, thereby being able to maintain access to both musical communities in a way that does not upset the members of both the jazz and classical communities that he would still like to maintain ties with – a project that is only possible through being able to be open-minded enough to be egalitarian and disregard genre boundaries while simultaneously discriminating between genres in knowing what their differences are and what formally makes them musically “pure”.

Maintaining such access allows RX to continue his trans-genre journey of self-discovery and musical exploration by cultivating a “robust identity” (Padgett & Ansell, 1993) that allows him access to the highest level of musicianship with both genres without ‘falling in between the cracks’ as a musician whose genre affiliation is unclear. As he explains in his interview, it is exactly this space between genres that he aims to exploit as not only someone who is open-minded but as a flautist – an instrument that is neither the soloist nor part of the rhythm section in both classical settings and jazz settings (RX). Indeed,

in Figure 4a and 4b, RX realises this Purist-Eclectic vision of his through performing his original jazz compositions as a soloist of his jazz-folk-fusion group (The *Rit Xu Group* as pictured in Fig. 4a) and classical music as a soloist with a symphonic orchestra in the Taiwan International Flute Festival 2021 (pictured in Fig. 4b).

Fig. 4a: Event Poster for *When the Flute Meets Jazz* Performance at the Taiwan International Flute Festival 2021

(Source: https://www.opentix.life/event/1369546507798282244; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

Fig. 4b: Event Poster for *The Flute and Beyond*, Closing Concert at the Taiwan International Flute Festival 2021

(Source: https://www.opentix.life/event/1369552432245952517; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

Purist-Eclectics are like “poly-purists” in that while they purport to span genre boundaries in their cultural consumption, they do so with an eye for formal-objective quality and authenticity in the genres that they patronise, thereby belying a form of boundary-work directed against those that are either snobbish like the “mono-purists” (Goldberg et al., 2016) who only consume traditionally high-brow culture and those who span boundaries indiscriminately like the “poly-mixers” (ibid) who span genre boundaries in their consumption “randomly”, that is, without having a strong idea about what the formal similarities and differences between genres are. As Goldberg et al. (ibid) put it, “poly-purists” typically possess a “broad knowledge of genre codes” and are “therefore … able to recognize pure types when

they see them" (p. 221). Indeed, both the Purist-Eclectic respondents interviewed are trained in classical music and can, as such, approach music in a formal manner and articulate intricate differences between genres and sub-genres through differences in their formal musical components such as rhythm, harmony, structure, and tone.

Like "poly-purists", "Purist-Eclectics" are "secretly serious" (Peters et al., 2018) in that their projected openness to cultural variety belies a keen sense for cultural distinction that is achieved through a discrete sampling of pure types and a keen discernment of established cultural codes. As with poly-purists, Purist-Eclectics are "socially motivated to protect genre boundaries" as, for them, "signalling an appreciation for cultural variety requires the maintenance of genre boundaries" (Goldberg et al., 2016, p. 221). As such, they seek to search and find what they like in various genres by learning about them sincerely before creating genre-defying music that they can call their own with the idea being to break the rules, one must first know what the rules are (RX, YH). While they respect the importance of "going deep" and invest a lot of time into learning about the formal jazz tradition, they are careful not to be stuck in it and actively seek out inspiration from various genres. Such a niche position between genre communities allows Purist-Eclectics like Xu to benefit in terms of performance and networking opportunities by oscillating between them, as seen in Figures 4a and 4b above where RX is invited to perform at the *Taiwan International Flute Festival* as both a jazz delegate educating the classical music community on jazz performance

(Figure 4a) *and* as a full-fledged member of the classical music community who can interpret and execute a concerto as well as any of them (Figure 4b).

All in all, by approaching musical taste like poly-purists, Purist-Eclectics attempt to navigate the Purist and Eclectic evaluative criteria through balancing the need to maintain standards of authenticity with the need to be eclectic in their musical involvement. Purist-Eclectics' strategy in this regard is to seek out "treasures" from various genres across the board while maintaining a coherent but "multivocal" (Goldberg et al., 2016) sense of identity through subscription to institutionalised and pre-established (musicological) genre forms and being aware of the "cultural codes" (ibid) and defining elements of the genres they patronise. In their quest for their own sound, Purist-Eclectics seek to fuse the various genres they patronise together through internalising and absorbing their pure forms before letting their influences organically show in what they compose and how they perform and improvise music (GL, NR, RX, YH, TO). In this way, Purist-Eclectics establish niches that are still potentially recognisable. As people who approach music formally, they seek to differentiate themselves from their peers through being more musically versatile and agile than them, drawing boundaries against both close-minded people who do not "sample broadly" across genres and open-minded people who "sample broadly" without a keen awareness of genre boundaries.

Pragmatist-Collectivist: Civic-Minded Entrepreneurs

Pragmatist-Collectivists face the challenge of reconciling the need to make money while engaging in jazz advocacy with the goal of contributing to the longevity and positive appearance of jazz music. Ideal-typical Pragmatists seek out successful collaborators and recognise success through the value that is created by their products, with value measured “objectively” (PX) through the amount of money that these products generate or potentially generate in sales or funding. As such, Pragmatists draw socioeconomic boundaries against those who potentially impede such success. On the other side, ideal-typical Collectivists draw boundaries against those who are deemed to be contributing to the detriment of jazz music and its future, that is, selfish people who promote a culture of elitism in the jazz community. Thus, at the extreme, Pragmatists may see Collectivists as idealistic people lacking ambition while Collectivists may see Pragmatists as ruthless and selfish people with no morals or civic sense.

The goal for Pragmatist-Collectivists is therefore to make money in a morally acceptable manner. In attempting to reconcile Pragmatist and Collectivist evaluative criteria, they look for opportunities to create value in ways that do not portray themselves as selfish, that is, they look for win-win-win situations that both benefit them and go towards a good cause.

Fig. 5a: Event Poster for *Jazz for Dogs 2019*

(Source: https://asdsingapore.com/event/jazz-for-dogs-2019-18-aug-2019; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

An example of such a situation is in the event *Jazz For Dogs* organised by veteran Singaporean vocalist Anne Weerapass (AW; see poster pictured in Fig. 5a). According to her, organising and participating in such an event is her "calling" and an "all-win" situation for "everybody", with "everybody" taken to mean the musicians involved who get paid to play at the event and get good publicity from it, the audiences who come to be entertained at such an event, and *Action for Singapore Dogs* or "ASD", the dog shelter that the event helped to raise funds for (AW). On top of that, the event is also a form of advocacy for the Singapore jazz community as it is showcased to the public as a form of music that is both entertaining yet civic-minded. In the following excerpt, AW explains the thought process behind her *Jazz for Dogs* event:

> (I thought to myself,) "Ok, I'm a singer, what I can do is sing, and … I know how to organise an event, y'know, I've done it before" so I said "why don't we try to do an event?" You know? *Jazz For Dogs*! … So, our first event that we did, we managed to raise, like, … fifteen to eighteen thousand dollars.. which was pretty

> good in my books, you know, for a first-time event. … And I kinda did it on my own. I sort of rallied all the musicians. … I went and asked so many people thinking that some would say no but everyone said yes! *laughs* … It brought me so much joy, just to.. be able to do something that.. you know, I knew that the dogs were gonna benefit from … They were gonna get their doctor's treatments or their food or whatever it is that they need to run a shelter. It's not cheap.
>
> So I realised that (organising such events) is something that I would like to continue doing. This is, like, my calling, I think, you know, to bring people together? As well as to do the thing I love most – music – and then to give back to society, you know, (it) could be people, (it) could be dogs, whatever, but, to me it's like an *all win* situation. You know? So I'm actually looking to do more of things like that?
>
> (AW, vocalist, 51-60 years old)

In this excerpt, AW talks about how she had a desire to help society by doing the "thing I love most – music" and how that gave birth to the *Jazz for Dogs* events. By organising and participating in this charity event, AW navigates Purist and Collectivist evaluative criteria. On the Pragmatist front, "objective" proof of her worth shows in how her event raised money – "between fifteen and eighteen thousand dollars" – for herself, the musicians, and the dog shelter, ASD. On the other side, she addresses Collectivist evaluative criteria by doing the work of jazz advocacy as jazz is not only exposed to new audiences at the high-profile public venue that is the Singapore Botanic Gardens – a UNESCO world heritage site – but it is also showcased in a way that makes it accessible to these potentially new audiences and in a way that portrays it as a noble genre as it is here associated with charity and social work – something that helps work towards the Collectivist goal of portraying jazz in a good light. On top of that, the Collectivist goal of increasing internal unity in the jazz community is also achieved

here through AW's efforts to "rally all the musicians" together for a good cause, thereby further enacting the Collectivist genre ideal of portraying jazz as a means of charity while bringing together disparate aspects of the jazz community who do not usually interact. As such, as an event that makes money, improves the reputation of the jazz community, and promotes cohesion within it, *Jazz for Dogs* is a jazz event borne out of AW navigation of Pragmatist and Collectivist genre ideals.

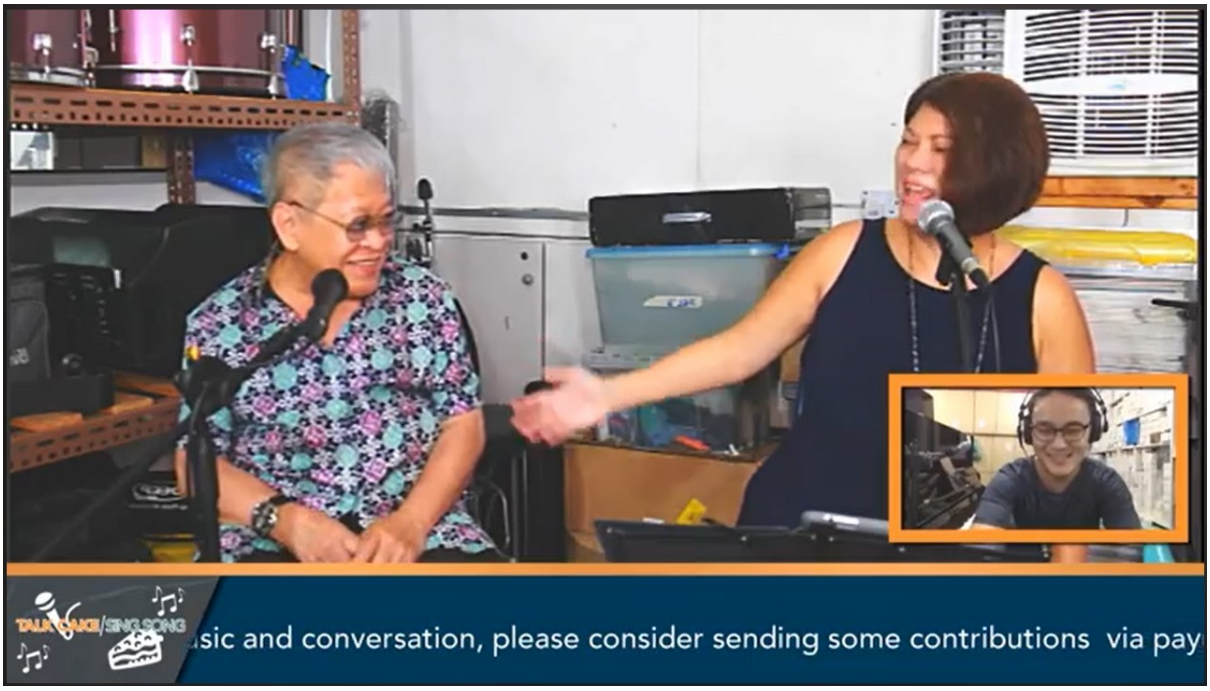
A similar event is *Talk Cake Sing Song*[30], a livestream series created by pianist Joel Dunstan Chua (JC) and AW that features various local jazz musicians from episode to episode eating local pastries while chatting and playing music. Occurring at the height of pandemic restrictions in 2020, the series worked around those restrictions to create a musical event that drew attention to local, small-scale cooks and bakers as well as local musicians – workers in industries who were negatively affected during the Covid-19 pandemic. *Talk Cake Sing Song* benefited them as it drew attention to them and their work, thereby using jazz music to direct traffic towards these small local businesses to support them during the pandemic while increasing jazz's public profile by exposing foodies and other non-jazz audiences to it, thereby also enacting the Collectivist ideal of cultural evangelism.

The series, however, also potentially benefits JC (pictured in Figure 5b at the bottom right) who not only gets to collaborate and network with famous musicians such as Louis Soliano (pictured in Fig. 5b to the left), but also potentially draw attention to JC's family business, *Sonare Music*, whose warehouse they were using for their livestream. As such, the series was, on top of being a form of civic engagement through helping local music and food businesses by directing internet traffic towards their work, also a means of advertising for JC's family business while also rallying jazz musicians together for a good cause and drawing attention to the jazz community as a socially responsible genre whose members care about the marginalised in society. Association with the good cause of helping

local businesses during the pandemic benefits all involved in the form of a potentially improved reputation, thereby potentially earning them money from the series in a way that does not seem selfish or greedy due to how the earnings go towards supporting a good cause. Thus, in a fashion similar to *Jazz for Dogs*, *Talk Cock Sing Song* also potentially manages to navigate Pragmatist and Collectivist evaluative criteria as the event earns money and 'creates value' without seeming greedy.

As such, these events are designed to be "all-win situations" for their organisers who get to do what they like to do while purportedly helping the jazz community and society while making money and improving their own public profile and reputation. Both events are geared towards improving the image of jazz in Singapore while also bringing together the jazz community and earning money at the same time. Notably, as evident in Figures 5a and 5b ("please consider sending some contributions"), both events do not appear to be shy about asking for contributions and donations, with the money earned from these events justified by the causes they support.

Fig. 5b: Screenshot from *Talk Cake Sing Song 03/10/20* featuring Louis Soliano (left), Anne Weerapass (right), and Joel Dunstan Chua (bottom right)



(Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3pwQw8tHbtw; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

All in all, the tensions generated by coadoption of both Pragmatist and Collectivist genre ideals and networking styles lead to attempts to earn money while engaging in or organising things that also benefit the genre. With the money earned by Pragmatist-Collectivists coming in the form of donations directed towards a good cause, they potentially navigate Pragmatist and Collectivist evaluative criteria as, by engaging in civic-minded activities that benefit society, they simultaneously present proof of value in terms of money raised and portray the jazz community in a good light as a civic-minded genre

community. The music played at these events is kept accessible to attract more audiences so that more money can be potentially earned while also growing the jazz community and improving its reputation as a community that cares for society. Doing so addresses Pragmatist and Collectivist evaluative criteria as, when more people are attracted to Pragmatist-Collectivist events, Pragmatist-Collectivists potentially earn more money, generate better publicity for themselves, and expose more audiences to jazz music. In this way, Collectivist ideals of inclusivity are achieved in a way that also appeals to Pragmatists as it generates money and is therefore “objective proof” of worth in the form of donations and contributions. Earning money in this way allows them to deflect accusations that they are self-centred in their pursuit of entrepreneurial opportunities for themselves while demonstrating the ability to succeed commercially, thereby potentially allowing for the continued access to personnel embedded in the Pragmatist and Collectivist worlds they occupy the overlap of that will allow them to enact these creative visions.

Pragmatist-Eclectic: Versatile Professionals

The main tension faced by Pragmatist-Eclectics concerns the need to earn money or create value stacked against the need for discovery. Pragmatists derive worth from the amount of value they are perceived to be creating, with value measured in the amount of money earned or possibly earned. Eclectics, however, derive worth from how open-minded they are perceived to be. While Eclectics value creativity

and the disruption that comes with it, Pragmatists value stability. Pragmatist-Eclectics attempt to navigate this tension by oscillating between established genres in their performances. The problem faced by them is thus a similar one to those who face the issue of how much to typecast themselves. To create value, Pragmatists typically tend to conform to pre-existing product categories. However, Eclectics constantly seek open-mindedness and do not typically like to remain in one category for too long and thus try to avoid situations in which they feel stuck (GL, DH, RX, TG, TO). Performance-wise, this means that they tent to avoid being typecasted too strongly as proponents of a specific genre. Pragmatist-Eclectics recognise that while typecasting and involvement with well-recognised genres will earn them money, over time, the money that they can potentially earn from staying in one genre will decrease (TG). As such, they hedge by learning about and being involved in other genres while maintaining their ties to the genres they have already learned and are involved in (TG, TW). In this way, eclecticism is “re-cognised” as a means of not only hedging against the long-term risk of typecasting but also as a means of potentially earning even more in the future due to the ways Pragmatists-Eclectics can distinguish themselves from the competition through having more exposure to other genres.

The tension they experience at this overlap thus has to do with how much to immerse themselves in one genre and community before moving on to the next one and how to decide on which genres they should continue being involved in (TG). The way Pragmatist-Eclectics

try to resolve these tensions leads to the search for situations in which they can constantly be playing and learning about new things that are still within established product categories and could thereby potentially earn them more money in the future when their involvement with the genres they have been involved in ceases to be interesting or lucrative (TG). As such, Pragmatist-Eclectics seek to be versatile professional musicians who rotate around the various genre communities that constitute the professional scene, that is, the segment of the music scene that earns money from playing music. While they do not seek to fully embed themselves in one genre or sub-genre, they seek to be familiar enough with the genres they patronise to be able to pass off to non-Purist audiences as authentic proponents of these genres (TG). Just like Eclectics, they are familiar with multiple genres. Unlike ideal-typical Eclectics however, they typically restrict the genres that they are good at to genres that are already established and typically avoid genres that are too obscure (TG, TW).

Veteran Singaporean drummer Tama Goh's decisions to leave several stable jobs in pursuit of new experiences so that he can grow shows how these considerations come to bear on Pragmatist-Eclectics. According to him, his strategy when he first started playing music involved learning about "my own culture first" before going on to "learn the culture of other people" (TG). Approaching music pragmatically, he first works with his comparative advantage in picking up the music and the cultures of the music that he has an advantage in compared to other musicians around the world. Having familiarised

himself with the musical cultures of local Singaporean music through playing in ensembles such as the *People's Association Chinese Orchestra*, he moved on to playing with the *Singapore Armed Forces*

Music and Drama Company (MDC) while fulfilling his National Service[31] and for a few years after. Following that, he decided to leave the MDC even though it offered financial stability as he thought that if he stayed on, he would have become artistically "stagnant" (TG). He then moved on to learn about the world of pop music by "travelling and playing … in pop bands" (TG) because he had the sense that if he did not learn about pop music, he would not be able to "make a living" and also because, in his words, "pop music culture, if I don't know, I cannot be a musician" (TG). Having already familiarised himself with local music in his youth, learned about symphonic music and its culture in the MDC, and familiarised himself with pop music and culture after that, he finally decided that it was time to move on to jazz music in the 1980s – a genre he considered then to be the pinnacle of musicianship (TG). As such, he left a high-paying pop band and traded drum chairs with drummer Tony Zee, the then-drummer of pianist Jeremy Monteiro's jazz band, *JeRamZee*. In the process, TG went from being paid seven thousand dollars to one thousand and five hundred dollars a month – something that he justifies in terms of, in his own words, "school fees", with the difference in earnings justified to him as the investment required to learn a genre of music he had always wanted to master without actually having to take a break from working and earning money and go to school for it (TG).

Having plugged what he considered to be one of the last gaps in the musical knowledge required to be a true "professional" by learning jazz, TG was then able to hedge. According to him, if he does not get

called for gigs from one genre, he can simply switch over to another. In the process he also gets to direct employers' attention to other musicians who he feels are good fits for the job that he could be doing if he cannot make the gig. In this way, TG is not only almost never out of work but also gets to be seen as a quasi-saint or, in his words, "fixer", where he matches musicians he knows with employers, thereby helping both musician and employer out in the process (TG). In this way, TG gains social capital while maintaining enough access to various musical communities to be able to continue performing and earning money in different settings. In this way, he gets to be able to satisfy his desire to play different kinds of music while gaining social capital – social capital that allows him continued access to more opportunities in the future that could potentially earn money from (Pragmatist) or be creatively interesting (Eclectic).

In the meantime, TG continues to expand his "vocabulary" (TG) by learning about other musical cultures in his free time – something he derives joy and pleasure from as, according to him, he wants to attain "certain benchmarks and goals" that "have nothing to do with the music … because when I want to play the drum the way I want to play it, it's got no genre" (TG). Hence, the way he addresses Pragmatist and Eclectic evaluative criteria is to spend just enough time to become familiar enough with a musical culture to be able to pass off as a proponent of it before moving on to new situations in which he can learn and grow as a musician who aspires to develop his "private relationship between me and … the instrument" and "play music to the

best of my ability" (TG). This versatility ultimately earned him the drum chair for the Singapore Symphony Orchestra – Singapore's premier classical music orchestra with whom Goh (pictured in Fig. 6 demonstrating a Latin rhythm for a promotional video) has regularly been called to perform with.

Fig. 6: Screenshot of Tama Goh featured in Promotional Video for Singapore Symphony Orchestra's *West Side Story* (2022)

(Source: https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10155526191487794; accessed 1 Dec 2022)

TG's case demonstrates why I termed Pragmatist-Eclectics distinct networking style "versatile professionals". Pragmatist-Eclectics traverse well-recognised genres as versatile musicians who can deliver professional standards across several genres. By so doing, they get to earn money from several sources and adhere to Pragmatist evaluative criteria by hedging sources of income while getting to play music of a

variety of genres sufficient enough to satisfy Eclectic notions of open-mindedness and discovery. TG addresses Pragmatist evaluative criteria through the way he justifies the decisions he made during his learning process in terms of “professional training” to fulfil the role of a drummer who entertains audiences for a living and Eclectic evaluative criteria in how he felt he would have become “stagnant” if he clung on to the “iron rice bowl” of playing music in the MDC (TG). Moving around the network as a “versatile professional” allows him to benefit not only monetarily but also in terms of self-fulfilment through curtailing musical boredom, thereby harnessing the benefits of his Eclectic categorical ambiguity as a Pragmatist would. As such, TG occupies a unique position as a reliable but versatile drummer who is able to perform with the Singapore Symphony Orchestra on one night (see Figure 6), the with jazz musicians who possess high eigenvector

centrality scores on another night, and with a *getai*[32] band on yet another night. In this way, TG is satisfied because will never get bored or run out of gigs and opportunities to learn and grow, with both his material and creative needs constantly satisfied.

As with TG, Pragmatist-Eclectics treat genres and cultures as natural categories. They are less interested in creating their own genres and distinguishing themselves creatively than they are in working within the boundaries of what is "already there" and learning as much as they can from there. The downside of this strategy is that Purist proponents of genres they are involved in may consider them "phonies". Indeed, TG complained about how he has received "dirty looks" from such musicians before having played something that was apparently "not in their realm" (TG). Nevertheless, Pragmatist-Eclectics are not too bothered by such things as they are more interested in maintaining access to the genre communities of the genres they like than ascending hierarchies within them. As TG puts it, "fuck them (haters) … the world is so big!" (TG). As such, the approval of such musicians does not matter much to Pragmatist-Collectivists insofar as it does not restrict access to the genre communities they wish to traverse.

Collectivist-Eclectic: Advocates of Humanity

The tension between Collectivist and Eclectic ideals stems from the need to identify with and advocate for one community while being involved with several different communities at the same time.

Fostering community (Collectivist) requires being a member of one community while being open-minded and curious (Eclectic) requires constantly moving between different communities. As such, Collectivist-Eclectics utilise a more abstract notion of community than ideal-typical Collectivists and see themselves not just as advocates of the jazz community per sé but as advocates of the entire arts community which encompasses both musicians and non-musicians (DH, FP, RS). Eclecticism, here defined as being open-minded about what constitutes art, is justified by Collectivist-Eclectics as a means of extending the longevity of jazz music and as a means of community-building. In their view, people should be more open to newer genres and experiences as, by doing so, they would potentially be less hostile towards one another, thereby benefiting the arts community in general as the potential for creativity, integration, and mutual support is increased. Hence, for them, promoting Eclecticism in terms of fostering understanding and collaboration among musicians of various backgrounds is a means through which they appease Collectivist ideals as community unity and longevity is promoted (DH, FP, RS). They believe that in that way, it is less likely that the community or communities to which they belong will stagnate or disintegrate.

Bassist-composer, cultural entrepreneur, and director of the Singapore Armed Forces Music and Drama Company (MDC) – the organisation that provides entertainment for military and diplomatic events – Felix Phang (FP) justifies his vision of the MDC as a meeting point between artists of various disciplines in terms of community-

building and, on a larger scale, nation-building (FP). Since the time before he took up his post as the director of the MDC, FP worked on personal projects such as *The Straits Ensemble* that were geared towards getting musicians from various disciplines to interact on a deeper level and thereby create music that was more organically integrated (FP). According to him, *The Straits Ensemble* was not an ensemble in which musicians from different cultures were put together in "a marriage of convenience" where they just played whatever he wrote and called it "fusion". Rather, *The Straits Ensemble* (see Fig. 7) was meant to "go a bit deeper" – something that he acknowledges "requires a lot of nurturing" (FP).

Fig. 7: Screenshot of *The Straits Ensemble* Description

(Source: https://www.felixphang.com/the-straits-ensemble; accessed 22 Nov 2022)

While he has not had the time to engage in projects like *The Straits Ensemble* since taking charge of the MDC, he has been working towards the same degree of cultural integration among the various Singaporean groups involved in the MDC. In his view, as musicians and other artists interact and learn from each other, new and interesting things are produced which help the community in the long run. Through promoting interaction between musicians and non-musicians

from various genres and disciplines in Singapore, FP not only seeks to improve the diversity and quality of the music and art on offer in Singapore but also seeks to help local musicians out on a practical level as exposure to more communities potentially means more employment and networking opportunities that span the genres and disciplines they are housed in (FP). These ideas stem from discontents about the remuneration of musicians and the general nature of the kinds of “artistic fusions” occurring in Singapore. Vis remuneration, FP feels that musicians are generally underpaid and work in exploitative conditions. Regarding “artistic fusions” in Singapore, he feels that the kind of artistic fusion occurring between musical and artistic cultures is only superficial. Voicing out his discontents about the state of cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary collaboration across the arts in Singapore, FP opines:

> I think right now we are still very divided. Chinese orchestra runs their own scene, the Malay Orchestra runs their own scene, the Indian groups are playing on their own… At which point do they meet? And when they meet, what is the level of interaction? You know what I mean? Are you interested in that fella’s instrument or the music itself? Or are you just like.. er.. *mimics bandleader* “It’s a novelty sound to me so I want to include it in my music” *laughs*, you know? So, yeah, I think that’s where I was hoping (for) more lah, for Singapore’s music to be (moving towards) next lah. I mean, yah there are so many (opportunities for development) *breathes*
>
> I approach music from the jazz composition standpoint. But there are also compositions from the Chinese standpoint, right? There are also compositions from the Malay standpoint, and even the Indian rhythmic structure, basically, or the composition standpoint… I think this is where you don’t even need to look too far. Really. If you really want to grow culturally in the music, … it’s all here! Yeah. And we are not tapping into this much. Yet. And that is really something that I’m passionate about.
>
> (FP, bassist, 31-40 years old)

In this excerpt, FP explains that the reason he is passionate about his work as the director of the MDC is that he feels that the diversity and uniqueness of Singapore's cultural heritage has not been sufficiently and properly harnessed. He feels that the ethnic groups are not interacting enough and are segregated, with the already low "level of interaction" between them only happening superficially, with bandleaders more interested in the "novelty" of including exotic instruments rather than learning about and integrating the "music itself", that is, going beyond including token sounds or instruments from different ethnic groups and calling it "fusion" but, rather, going deeper and learning about the conventions utilised by each of the ethnic groups to make music and how to integrate them "organically". Such conventions include interpretation, composition, performance, and improvisation conventions. FP feels that the interaction should go deeper as Singapore has such a deep and diverse cultural well from which to draw from that people "are not tapping into much" (FP). As such, through his efforts in the MDC and as a musician-composer in general, FP hopes to make the MDC and his musical projects meeting places through which practitioners of the diverse communities that make up Singapore's arts community can come together and interact on a deeper and more meaningful level.

In this way, he hopes to be able to contribute to a unique Singaporean artistic and cultural identity that differentiates Singapore from its neighbouring countries – something that he feels is not only lacking but also tricky to achieve as Singapore is a multicultural nation

whose cultural heritage is derived from many countries and cultures near and far and whose identity cannot therefore be reduced to a single ethnic category such as “Chinese”, “Malay”, “Indian”, or the like (FP). By getting musicians and audiences to reflect upon Singapore’s identity – something that FP feels is potentially greater than the sum of its ethnic parts – through involvement with members of other genres, disciplines, and ethnic groups, FP hopes to contribute to nation-building through bringing the distinct cultures and disciplines that constitute Singapore’s arts community closer together. In doing so, he aims to contribute to the search for a unique Singaporean sound or aesthetic and, more broadly, for a unique Singaporean national identity (FP).

In doing so, he addresses Collectivist and Eclectic ideals by uniting, helping, and advocating for the jazz community as one of the communities that makes up the larger Singapore arts community (Collectivist) and creating situations through which musicians and artists can achieve a better understanding of and working relationships with members of other communities outside their zones of familiarity (Eclectic). In this way, inter-community conflicts are potentially avoided while the Singapore arts community is potentially better integrated. By helping to integrate musical and artistic cultures through his work, FP hopes to help Singaporeans find their own unique cultural identity and therefore unite in their diversity, with their diversity exactly that which they have in common with each other. Indeed, when asked about what he will invest his time in in the future, FP replies:

> While I will do my own thing, I think I will also put a lot of time into community-building. … What I'm trying to get here is (to) maybe even work out something that we might not be able to (currently envision)… Yeah I mean it could be something new lah basically that we do not (yet) know – it could be a sound that is new and things like that. Because we are always so divided in terms of everything else, right? If I ask you, "What's the difference between Hari Raya Puasa and (Hari Raya) Haji?", will you be able to answer accurately what the differences (between them) are? Being a multicultural society, we live together and then yet, I don't think we understand each other very well and it think it reflects on many levels that way and music is just one of the many (domains in which this lack of understanding is reflected) lah.
>
> (FP, bassist, 31-40 years old)

Here, FP navigates Collectivist and Eclectic ideals in how he will seek to continue down his path of self-discovery in a way that contributes to community-building in the arts community and nation-building in Singapore. To him, learning about the various cultures that make up Singapore appeases Eclectic ideals of self-discovery and open-mindedness as he gets to explore the other cultures that constitute the overall cultural landscape of the country he belongs to and identifies with. Learning about these cultures also allows him to occupy a position that can potentially bridge these cultures as director of the MDC and as the leader of multicultural projects such as *The Straits Ensemble.* As someone in such a position, he gets to constantly surprise himself without having to leave his country while also contributing to the longevity of the communities he is helping to bridge through introducing diversity and potentially innovation by disrupting their taken-for-granted conventions through getting them to work with each other, thereby appeasing Collectivist ideals through promoting

Eclecticism among the various ethnically-based communities that constitute the Singapore arts community and thereby Singapore in general. By promoting Eclecticism as a means of community- and nation-building, FP sees himself as working towards the discovery of something that nobody including himself can yet imagine – something uniquely Singaporean, be it a “sound” or, perhaps, a new Singaporean musical or artistic genre that is greater than the sum of its ethnic parts (FP).

All in all, Collectivist-Eclectics like FP seek out ways in which they can contribute to improving the unity and reputation of the Singapore jazz and arts community through promoting Eclecticism to disrupt the taken-for-granted knowledge practices of themselves and others (DH, FP, RS). By taking up positions in which they can liaise between various segments of the community as well as with those outside of it, be they non-artists or people overseas, Collectivist-Eclectics work towards Collectivist goals of improving community cohesion and longevity by bridging segregated segments of the communities they traverse through their work, thereby promoting the cross-genre, inter-community pollination of ideas in a way that also accrues benefits to them in terms of fuelling their journey of (self-)discovery. In doing so, they navigate Collectivist and Eclectic evaluative criteria though promoting Eclecticism as a means through which Collectivist ideals are achieved.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

In the following section, I discuss the limitations of my methods and findings by suggesting potentially fruitful applications across musical, artistic, and non-artistic fields.

Robert Glasper and The Limits of Peer Esteem as a Driver of Innovation

The work of recombination involves identifying sites of equivalences across symbolic boundaries. As an example of new genres created through cultivating “multivocal” networking styles that glean peer esteem from multiple sources through straddling divergent evaluative criteria, I use the case of Robert Glasper by briefly explaining how intercohesive labour led to “jazz sampling hip-hop” or the creation and uptake of a sub-genre of jazz and hip-hop traceable to pianist Robert Glasper and his associates (Redfield, 2022). Topics such as the emergence of new genres like Glasper-esque “hip-hop jazz” are ideal for exploration using the inductive, community-based approached in this thesis as it does not consider as musicological genres as its starting point.

Robert Glasper is a jazz pianist who broke new ground by winning a Grammy award in the R&B category in 2013. The combination of hip-hop and jazz popularised by jazz pianist Robert Glasper is new to the extent that it is a recombination of elements of performance

conventions of the two genres that have not been as successfully combined in the past as they have been by Glasper – while “jazzy hip-hop” or “hip-hop jazz” is a mainstream category now, it raised critical eyebrows back in the early 2010s (Redfield, 2022). The work of recombination here is done through seeking out ideological equivalences among disparate communities. Exploiting the sampling of jazz music as a hip-hop production convention, on top of finding formal-musical equivalences between the two genres in terms of harmony and rhythm, Glasper found several other non-musical equivalences he could work with in straddling jazz and hip-hop communities by appealing to equivalences in the history of both musics as forms of ritual dance music and as a means of expression created and utilised

by black people that are rooted in African rituals and practices[33]. The result is a networking style that appealed to members of both communities who were both producers (jazz musicians Damion Reid, Vicente Archer, and Casey Benjamin, as well as rappers Yasiin Bey, Q-Tip, and Common for instance) and consumers of jazz and hip-hop respectively.

In this way, Glasper's "winning formula" of jazz and hip-hop combinations became a genre in itself adopted by jazz and hip-hop proponents all over the world with hip-hop beats and electronic samples used more frequently in jazz performances and jazz samples being used more frequently in hip-hop performances (Redfield, 2022). On top of demonstrating the requisite musical and cultural competence in both genres, by appealing to themes of racial discrimination and diasporic solidarity in all three of his *Black Radio* albums (Glasper, 2012, 2013, 2022), Glasper managed to navigate the evaluative criteria of jazz and hip-hop musicians in a way that allowed him continued access to both circles and thereby success along both commercial and critical lines. While this Glasper-esque hybrid genre has yet to be named in earnest, it would be interesting to chart its evolution and development by exploring its uptake by music consumers and producers over time and across place. Doing so would help advance the theory of genre evolution and emergence set out here as a function of social processes of networking while complementing musicological analyses of textual recombination in this

hybrid “hip-hop jazz” genre such as musicologist’s Molly Redfield’s (2022).

However, while plausible, the explanation of genre evolution and emergence I have set out here for the case of Glasper-esque hip-hop jazz belies a limitation of my approach: My analysis of jazz musicians in Singapore and Robert Glasper would be completely valid if not for the fact that genre communities involve more people than the musicians themselves (Lena, 2012; Piekut, 2014). Jazz musicians, like actors in theatre, are but actors performing a role in a wider network of actors collaborating to create art (Becker, 1982; Griswold, 2013; Hennion, 2015). This genre-based network also involves many other “mediators” apart from the performers themselves (Hennion, 2015). These “mediators” include educators (Wilf, 2010, 2014) who transmit genre ideals from generation to generation, critics (Chong, 2020) and promoters (Peterson, 1967) who alter the discursive environment governing evaluative criteria in genres, distributors and systems of distribution (White & White, 1965) governing audiences and thereby the environment in which art is appraised, censorship bodies (Lena, 2012) who define the discursive boundaries of artistic expression, urban planners and venue owners (Neff, 2012) who create and shape the physical spaces in which genres are enacted, and consumers (Baym, 2019) – a class of people whose role in shaping genre trajectories is getting more pronounced as social media brings artists and consumers closer to each other.

To say that jazz musicians bear sole responsibility for development of jazz music would be to ignore the well-documented contributions of these actors. Contributions to jazz by non-musicians have been well-documented in the many musicological and sociological texts that have dealt with, over and above the contributions of iconic jazz musicians, shifts the social, cultural, and institutional conditions that accompanied the trajectory of jazz (DeVeaux, 1991, 1997; Lewis, 2008; Lopes, 2002; Peterson, 1967). Only studying relations among musicians peers is a limitation of my study in that I only explore relations among one domain of "mediators". Such an analysis of the emergence of Glasper-esque "hip-hop jazz" as I have laid out above would be buttressed by more research on the evaluative criteria of others along the "chain of mediations" (Hennion, 2015) through which jazz is enacted and the "sites of dissonance" (Antal et al., 2015) that generate the friction driving such innovation. Even by simply expanding the study to include relationship between (communities of) musicians and (communities of) audiences can prove fruitful in understanding the bases of innovation among musicians and artists as they negotiate networking styles with their audiences (Baym, 2019; Becker, 1951; Formilan & Stark, 2023) in the face of the introduction of digital technologies that bring them these communities ever closer. Do adopters of each of the four genre ideal types attract different kinds of audiences? For instance, is it the case where Pragmatist audiences are attracted to Pragmatist artists (homophily) or do Purist artists tend to attract Pragmatist musicians (heterophily)? Do the same genre ideals

occur in audience communities of the same genre community as the musician communities of the same genre as well? Is there structural equivalence between communities in peers and audiences?

The approach I have taken here is “hermeneutic” in that it assumes a closed feedback loop of ideas and information in one domain (among musicians). It does not take into account the relations between jazz musicians and non-jazz musicians. These relations could also be the bases for recombinant innovation that are obscured from this study. Membership to religious, ethnic, political networks could produce unique interactions when juxtaposed with genre ideal adoption and networking style – interactions that could be the basis behind the generation of the requisite friction for recombinant innovation to take place. Yet, despite this limitation, the principles I have applied here to unpacking the “work of recombination” fit my scale of research and are appropriate to the goal of the thesis which is to identify the sources of “generative friction” among, specifically, jazz musicians in Singapore and foreground what the “work of recombination” looks like in practice among this community. As such, my conceptual and methodological approach may be applied to and can be used for generating useful findings about nascent, still unidentified genres.

Jazz Musician Communities in Other Countries

Depending on the scale of the approach, different questions may be asked regarding what intercohesive labour might look like in different fields and at different “resolution levels”, that is, at the macro-

(relations between nations, economies, or societies), meso- (relations within and across markets and communities), or micro-level (relations between individuals). As the focus of this thesis has been individuals and their relationship to a community of peers, I chose Singapore as, through my fieldwork, I observed that I could isolate relations among a class of cultural producers such that I would be able to observe the "work of recombination" while controlling for roles performed in the wider genre community due to the lack of other cultural producers, distributors, critics, as well as the geographical affordance for "ecological separation" present in the Singapore context. Indeed, supporting my point that the jazz community in Singapore consists of mostly jazz musicians, many of whom oscillate between administrative and musical roles, is the fact that Singapore's only two formal jazz organisations, Aya Sekine's *We Love Jazz* and Jeremy Monteiro's *Jazz Association of Singapore* active during the time of sampling were both run by jazz musicians.

To conduct a similar study in the United States or even other countries would be to change the scale of research from the micro-level to the meso- or macro-level. Seeing that Singapore is a city-state, it would be more appropriate to replicate this study in cities. As cities such as London, Paris, New York City, and even Bangkok are larger than Singapore, "ecological separation" is possible even within them. Indeed, as Neff discovered in her study of the social networks of dot-coom workers in Silicon Alley, many of their networks had to do with where they partied in New York City (Neff, 2012). In a study of the

genre ideals of the jazz musician communities in America, it could be the case that genre ideals are linked to “ecologically separated” physical spaces, with certain places attracting people who share similar genre ideals, with communities separated by geographical rather than symbolic boundaries.

That said, as networking styles may not be as salient elsewhere as in Singapore, looking for variation in a single town or city in a country like the US may be splitting hairs. In most other countries, cities are connected to other cities, towns, suburbs, and rural areas. As such, in other countries, “ecological separation” across cities, towns, and even villages is possible, resulting in the association with places with specific “scenes” (Allington et al., 2015; Bennett & Peterson, 2004; Phillips, 2013) and their respective cultures. Musicians in places like the US or the EU are not geographically restricted by nationality like in Singapore as America, as with musicians in member countries of the European Union, allows musicians to move wherever they want within the country or bloc without having to apply for visas and the like.

Thus, I propose that an appropriate scale of research for a replication of this study in the US or other larger countries should involve a state-level analyses of who lives and performs where on top of who collaborates with who. States contain cities, towns, and villages. The genre ideals of communities in cities, towns, and villages could be collated and compared. Would a similar inductive, community-based

approach to genre yield similar results in other countries? If so, how would the four genre ideals look like in these places? If they are similar, what explains their similarity? These questions have implications for complexity theory as they are instances of genre ideals diffused across the world that organise otherwise unrelated communities in similar ways. Differences in the enactments of jazz can also say a lot about what jazz means as a genre, thereby enhancing our understanding of a now-global musical institution. On top of that, one would get to understand why certain places attract certain kinds of people.

In this vein, the places where jazz musicians perform in other countries could be used as a datapoint with which understand the evaluative criteria of musicians there. In Singapore, venues were so scarce that jazz musicians often faced the difficult decision of playing at venues they did not necessarily want to play at simply because the alternative was to not perform at all (AJ, AL, CS, ND, TW). As such, in Singapore, the places where people perform are not as important as who they perform with – a research design choice I made with the goal of observing "pure" boundary-work to examine theoretical workings at a micro-level. Ultimately, my conceptual and methodological approach allows researchers to characterise and profile locally-contingent communities as part of a "chain of mediations" (Hennion, 2015) through which Jazz is enacted locally (Piekut, 2011), regionally (Keppy, 2019), or globally (Phillips, 2013). These genres may be "musicologically" (through formal musical and cultural characteristics)

or “sociologically” (through equivalences in community structure) defined.

In the following section, I discuss how I would apply the conceptual and methodological approach here to fields in which community is more complex, that is, when community in question involves more than one class of cultural producers, or when the community in question involves relations across domains such as with producer-consumer relations as in Baym’s (2019) analysis of the impact of social media on the networking styles of musicians. In doing so, I provide suggestions for further research in several fields including but not restricted to music and the arts.

Pop Music and Networks of Distributed Production

The “genius” of Romantic ideology is a mode a of engagement that requires one person taking credit on behalf of a network of personnel (Abbing, 2022). In this way, the “genius” method of self-promotion is one “model” of many that can be used to distinguish musicians from their peers. Indeed, DeNora’s (1995) exploration of Ludwig van Beethoven’s life and career depicts him as not only as someone whose peers and audiences deemed a stellar musician (musical criteria) as well as an expert self-promoter. This model has been extended to the popular arts for a very long time and plays on a Romantic ideology of individual genius (Wilf, 2010) being the source of creativity and innovation (Abbing, 2022). Applications of this model in the production of pop music involve a division of roles whereby those

writing the music itself (e.g., ghost producers) are often not credited for the music in the interest of maximising prestige or profit.

As such, the organisational model used in pop music in which pop stars get credit on behalf of a team that makes and markets the music credit to them is the “genius” model “re-cognised” (Stark, 2009) and is a form of organisational innovation used strategically, with the pop star performing the role of the representative of the team in a similar way CEOs represent their companies. In this way, by tracing the networks of teams working for pop stars, non-musicians can also be classified into separate but related communities with varying evaluative criteria concerning what kind of team they should hire, with overlaps between teams another data point indicating community membership in such a case. In this way, innovation in pop music where creative decisions are made by production and media teams but attributed to stars such as with groups like Blackpink and BTS can be traced to the overlapping community structures of the teams that they use for musical production.

Due to the more distributed division of labour of pop music production (DiMaggio, 1977; Lopes, 1992; Negus, 1992), the organisational characteristics of pop music take on more of an “industry-based” form rather than the “scene-based” form (Lena, 2012; Lena & Peterson, 2008) the Singapore jazz musician community resembles. As such, cultural production in an “industry-based” genre is more “distributed” compared to among jazz musicians in Singapore.

Pop stars are often not the only one responsible for all decisions regarding their networking style. These decisions could be made in dialogue with a team housed under a record label or consisting of frequent collaborators performing roles other than musical performance (DiMaggio, 1977; Hennion, 1989; Lopes, 1992; Negus, 1992). Yet, within the “industry-based” settings pop music genre communities tend to take on, there might still be variation in the genre ideals and networking styles of musicians that serve to be drivers of the evolution and emergence of genres of pop music.

Thus, if the research field in question is the peer communities of pop stars, the social network created should be constructed from more than just performance ties between the stars to whom performances are credited to, as has been the case in this thesis. A possible approach could be to construct networks separated by role performed. As such, separate networks for producers, beatmakers, sound engineers, and even A&R representatives could be constructed, parsed, and compared based on their affiliation to pop stars or record labels. This will give us a fuller picture and thereby better understanding of how innovation and thereby change occurs in genres of popular music. Studying only the frontmen alone would obscure the role of others in shaping the sound and look of genres that adopt such “distributed” modes of production. For instance, producers’ (Hennion, 1989) roles as “mediators” of pop music are often obscured due to the requirement that they keep their identities discrete relative to their clients.

It would be interesting to see if there is any structural equivalence between the genre ideals of those performing different roles. Do ideal-typical Pragmatists necessarily work with their counterparts in other domains of production or are successful teams created from teams composed of adopters of diverse types? Such studies could provide counterpoint to existing studies of homophily in collaborative networks, going beyond what has been studied in, for instance, scientific co-authorship networks (Arroyo Moliner et al., 2017; Farkas et al., 2007; Santos et al., 2024). In this way, factors behind success or failure can be explored in relation to the social structure of its production in the same way the success of feature films (Hsu, 2006), jazz albums (Vedres, 2017), and computer games (de Vaan et al., 2015) have.

In the case that the network in question are session musicians that perform with pop stars, this musician network would look like the Singapore jazz musician network but with an added network layer concerning which pop star these musicians are affiliated with (provided the pop star concerned is not playing a musical instrument). Results similar to those in this thesis will likely be gleaned from such a network. Pop musicians are organised among the lines of genre ideals that govern their evaluative criteria leading to the cultivation of networking styles that sort them into clusters depending on the extent to which they typecast themselves in accordance with existing genre ideals in the community. A full range of genre forms might be discovered among pop stars and their teams of musicians and/or non-

musicians, complete with musicians occupying the overlaps in between them working to find new ways of distinguishing themselves from their peers and pushing the limits of their genres, albeit at the risk of losing, at least in the short run, market share and peer esteem. Indeed, as Varriale (2015) shows, moral boundaries may be drawn even in “heteronomous” fields, with – counter to Bourdieusian theory on cultural consecration and artistic valorisation – popular music critics positioning market-driven positions of musicians as morally superior to those receiving state support due to the autonomy they have achieved via accruing economic capital independent of state support.

As such, the ways genre forms are enacted among pop stars might have changed due to the changing structure of the pop music industry since the advent of social media and algorithms. Learning about the ways genre forms are enacted across time and space may produce important insights regarding the evolving relationship between music, art, and society, thereby potentially producing critical insights which can inform government or organisational policy. Such insights may also identify gaps that cultural producers may exploit in career planning or in their search for distinction, innovation, or relevance. In this way, musicians and artists may find more equivalences across fields and disciplines and, ultimately, produce new use cases for music and art that extend beyond the constraints posed by existing evaluative criteria in their fields. These, as White and White (White & White, 1965) argue, is one way in which genre communities and the careers of artists can be sustained.

The structure of record labels has changed significantly since the time seminal studies of the structure of pop music industry (DiMaggio, 1977; Hirsch, 1971; Lopes, 1992; Negus, 1992; Peterson & Berger, 1975) were conducted. Accompanying the advent of social media (Allington et al., 2015; Hesmondhalgh et al., 2019) and algorithms (Prey, 2018; Prey & Esteve-Del-Valle, 2024), there has been a trend towards pop stars going independent (Savage, 2022), with the market share of major labels shrinking (Mulligan, 2024). By identifying clusters of producers or rappers who release on or collaborate frequently with producers or rappers affiliated with similar clusters of record labels, clusters of personnel may be observed in the resulting multilayered network. By following up with ethnographic fieldwork and interviews of members of the network, differences in responses to questions regarding their attitude towards musical involvement, self-promotion, cross-genre collaboration, and exclusivity may be asked to determine their genre ideals, with differences along these thematic axes used to classify the networking styles of not only musicians but also producers, sound engineers, booking agents, or A&R executives. By casting a wider net, more “sites of dissonance” (Antal et al., 2015) may be uncovered, thereby paving the way for our understanding of how industries are changing. Thus, studying collaboration networks and innovation in pop music in the way I have done in this thesis can produce findings which update and clarify the work of these pioneering sociologists in light of these developments and thereby explore the

impact of technology on music via the ways it affects the way musical ideals are enacted and musical communities are organised.

Similarly, in hip-hop music, such multilayered networks as those among pop stars and their teams or musicians can be constructed and compared to potentially produce insights regarding what the “work of recombination” looks like in the manner I described above. Another way community overlap can be traced in such communities as pop, hip-hop, or electronic music is by tracing who collaborated with who by identifying who is featured on whose album. These, as with collaborations between pop stars, cannot be considered simply as collaborations between individuals. The challenge, thus, is finding out who the obscured actors as is the case with popular music, the members of these teams are often obscured from the public as the “genius” model requires that credit goes to the individuals fronting the team. To this end, ethnographic fieldwork might be a better option to discover the networks of actors vying for positions in the industry and why they choose to work with certain people rather than others.

Thus, by measuring affiliation or non-affiliation with stars and record labels among session musicians, producers, and pop stars, multimode or multilayered networks may be used in place of the one-mode network I used here. Multimode affiliation networks created from affiliation or non-affiliation with record labels could be used to parse distinct and overlapping communities in the same way board membership was used by Vedres and Stark (2010) for charting out

lineages among corporations. Such networks could chart out genre communities in more detail, with intercohesion occurring through both musical and non-musical personnel occupying the overlap between communities defined by patterns of affiliation and collaboration between musicians and labels, with pop stars, labels, and their affiliates classified according to measures such as prestige (Purist), market share (Pragmatist), community involvement (Collectivist), or uniqueness (Eclectic). To this end, discogs.com is a good source from which to scrape data regarding collaborations not only among musicians, but also among producers, executive producers, and sound engineers from various genres.

Musicological Categories and Networking Styles: Does Instrument Relate to Genre Ideal Adoption?

Instrument played might have an impact on genre ideal adoption. While this is not the case in the Singapore jazz musician community, it could very well be the case in not only other jazz musician communities elsewhere in the world but also among many other musician communities, with the structure of these communities influenced by musicological factors such as instrumentation and recording or performance conventions. Depending on role divisions, genre ideal adoption and community structure might differ. For instance, the instrumentation of jazz groups has a real bearing on who is included or not included in the community as it requires players of different instruments and, thereby, performers of different roles to

enact networking styles through adapting genre ideals and evaluative criteria to their own role in the band. Establishing a role for themselves allows them to be a member of the community.

For jazz musicians, these roles pertain not only to social roles like bandleader and promoter but also, and perhaps more importantly, to their musical role in a conventional jazz combo band as a member of the rhythm section (drums, bass, guitar, piano), a soloist (saxophone, trumpet, flute, vocalist), or melodist (saxophone, trumpet, flute, vocalist, guitarist, pianist). As such, networking style may differ according to instrument played which determines to role in band to varying extents. For instance, an attitude of disinterestedness might benefit those performing roles in the rhythm section and be detrimental for soloists or melodists. Indeed, players of different instruments have to network differently as they have to grapple with instrument-specifics role constraints. In this vein, is it true that members of the rhythm section are more likely to lean towards Purist dispositions and vocalists are more likely to cultivate Pragmatist dispositions? Are there Purist vocalists and Pragmatist rhythm section members? Further research should explore possible correlations between instrument and networking style as a function of a “opportunity structures” (Lena, 2019; White, 1970) unique to different genres.

In the case of the Singapore jazz musician community, both Purist-Eclectics (RX, YH) are players of instruments (flute and trumpet)

that are not traditionally included in a jazz combo band. Players of every instrument have to develop networking styles that take into account the conventional role of their instrument within a band. Vocalists are usually bandleaders and are thus more predisposed towards the Pragmatist genre ideal as they are usually the ones who have to deal with the finances. Bandleaders, however, are not always vocalists. Drummers and bassists are less likely to be bandleaders and therefore are less likely to adopt the Pragmatist genre ideal. As those who are not “fronting” the band, their audience is less external audiences and more peers and internal audiences – members of the jazz community who might hire or book them. As such, their networking style is tailored to suit the “internal” (in the sense of Bourdieu, 1983, where members of a field of restricted production adopt evaluative criteria that is the “inverted” version of “external” evaluative criteria (the “heteronomous” principle).

While there might be a correlation between instrument and genre ideal, this correlation did not affect my analysis of the Singapore jazz musician community as I observed the distribution of genre ideal adoption did not change by instrument played (see Appendix B). The four genre ideals can be adopted by players of every instrument. Players of each instrument find ways of presenting themselves and these ways of self-presentation fit into each of these genre ideals. Thus, the distribution of genre ideal adoption does not differ by instrument played in the case of the interview respondents of this study.

Autonomy and Heteronomy in Collaborative Fields

Apropos the unique specificities of fields and genres, Bourdieu's (1983) analysis of peer esteem in a "restricted" literary field in Paris differs from this study in that the collaboration in poetry is not a requirement for participation in the community. As such, his study is a study of how peers decide who to accord prestige to, not who wants to collaborate with who. As such, in a collaborative field such as a jazz musician community, there is an added layer to peer esteem in that it concerns involvement in a community – not collaborating almost certainly spells the end of a career as a jazz musician. While they might still be a practising solo musician, they will not be part of the community in the same sense as someone who regularly plays with bands.

In this thesis, I observed that the two worlds with the most overlap the most were the Pragmatist and Purist worlds (see Fig. 1). I surmise that this is the case because they are defined, as Bourdieu (1983) has shown, in polar opposition to each other, that is, because they are distinct. This "cognitive distance" (de Vaan et al., 2015) from each other allows them to benefit from collaboration. This contextualises Bourdieu's findings regarding the relationship between the conceptual categories of "artists" and non-artists, that is, those are accorded the label and those who are not. As is the case with the "genius" model and pop stars, it is precisely because one is accorded the label that one has to perform specific roles. Conversely, it is

precisely because one is not accorded the label of artist that one can perform other roles. As with genre ideals and networking styles, the two competing “autonomous” and “heteronomous” principles are defined in relation to each other.

Thus, intercohesive labour in fields that are not collaborative may be investigated through exploring the overlap among, as with pop stars, teams that bring the work to life. For instance, in the case of literature, the genre ideals of publishers could be gleaned based on who they choose to publish for and why. There might also be other “positions” that are *both* market and art-oriented (Beljean et al., 2015; Varriale, 2015). Collectivists and Eclectics are such communities. Thus, the “autonomous” and “heteronomous” principles may be the ideals of two communities that are intertwined precisely because they are defined in opposition to each other. Pragmatists’ need to differentiate themselves from others explains the presence of some degree of overlap between the Pragmatist “world” and the Purist and Collectivist “worlds”. Differences in their network position are due to networking style. Their networking style is something that they foster according to the role in the band they play. These networking styles are fostered to cater to role vacancies in the community. Purists, due to the role they tend to play in the band as members of the rhythm section or as soloists, may benefit more from adopting a disinterested posture in self-promotion. It is a conspicuous signal to both their own peers as well as potential non-Purist employers that they are dedicated and authentic. This allows them to glean peer esteem among other elite

peers who are then more likely to recommend them for high-profile performances that pay. Specifically, Pragmatists search for the musicians that have the right balance of authenticity and professionalism they can recruit (JD, JW, PX). Bandleaders and vocalists, on the other hand, may benefit more from cultivating a Pragmatist networking style. This then begs an interesting question: To what extent are genre ideals and networking styles shaped by the roles they play in bands? If the musicological characteristics or performance conventions such as band size and division of labour in the band create vacancies in the community, what is the process through which entrants to the community decide which instrument to play or what kind of role they would like to perform in the band or community? Yet, it is possible for players of various instrument to adopt Purist, Pragmatist, Collectivist, or Eclectic dispositions.

Further research could investigate the relationship between role vacancies in communities and the adoption of dispositions among those that take up these roles. In this way, we can better understand the effects of community membership on individuals and the process through which individuals are socialised to become members of communities and how they, over time, change their outlook and networking practices to fit their network positions. For my thesis, I have only focused on the Singapore jazz musician community. In another country, perhaps one in which players of all instruments have to actively seek out gigs and interact with “external” audiences such as non-jazz musicians and organisers who do not understand jazz, a

Pragmatist genre ideal might be defined differently than in the Singapore jazz musician community. In any case, genre ideals are relative to the network in question. As such, they can be approached like genre forms (Lena, 2012) in the sense that they are recurring forms of relations between people and groups. Further research could examine variance between genre ideals and their enactment across fields and communities. The genre ideals are relative to the community in question. Would all four occur in every community of cultural producers? Further research should be conducted to see the extent to which these genre ideals and the organisational forms they create and sustain occur across genre communities around the world.

Institutional Isomorphism in Business Innovation

Wilf (2019) argues that the requirement of continual innovation in the US has resulted in a routinised genre of “business innovation” replete with its own evaluative criteria regarding what constitutes innovation. As firms learn about the “capitalist” (ibid) ideal of continual innovation, they learn the corresponding evaluative criteria from patrons and craft networking styles that signal adherence to these evaluative criteria. Enactments of these networking styles by organisations signal adoption of these “capitalist” genre ideals. In doing so, they join a community of other organisations that subscribe to the same “capitalist” ideals – ideals in which non-adoption of the business practices of leading organisations is a reason for exclusion. Examples of enactments include the proper use of Post-it notes and the

adoption of routinised procedures such as “listening to the voice of the product” (Wilf, 2019) to come to conclusions about what kind of innovativeness and innovation should take place. Enacting business innovation in the “correct” way produces the “correct” kind of innovation – innovation that is comprehensible to members of business communities who share similar ideals regarding business innovation.

Thus, the brand of innovation discussed by Wilf (2019) is, in this sense, is a genre of bureaucracy replete with its own evaluative criteria. A genre is a patterned way of doing things that constitutes and is constituted by communities (Lena, 2012, 2016). In this way, the genre-based approach I have can be applied to understanding institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) in the way Wilf (2019) has understood the routinisation of innovation in the US. As DIMaggio and Powell (1983) have shown, bureaucracy is not only a means of achieving efficiency and productivity – it is a means of networking. When elite firms conspicuously enact a culture of continual innovation, the enactment of continual innovation becomes a form of networking. Not following suit potentially signals a lack of ambition in a Pragmatist environment and could therefore potentially result in exclusion from an elite business community.

In this vein, “Innovation” and “innovator”, as with “art” and “artist”, are labels accorded to those whose networking styles resonate with the evaluative criteria of the community whose notion of innovation is the one predominantly used to evaluate innovation.

Notions of innovation are not universal. Innovation is measured and evaluated with respect to the evaluative criteria of genre ideals and, as such, take on a different form depending on the community in which it is produced and appraised. Further research could be conducted to investigate the relationship between power and the dominance of evaluative criteria and, thereby notions of innovation. Dominant notions of innovation in the arts before the “practical turn” have privilege a “Romantic” notion of creativity and innovation. The networking styles of artists since the inception of this genre of creativity and innovation are thus artifacts of the opportunity structures these evaluative criteria afford (Wilf, 2019; Abbing, 2021, 2022).

Thus, to study community structure is to study the social bases of innovation. When analysing innovation, one needs to be clear about what notion of innovation is being used. In my case, I have made it clear that I am using a sociological notion of innovation as a function of both network diversity and changes in community structure brought about by actors performing intercohesive labour at the overlap. While not everybody might agree with this sociological notion of innovation as recombinant, it has allowed me to extract notions of worth and thereby notions of innovation in the various communities that constitute the Singapore jazz musician community without imposing my own evaluative criteria on anyone. I thus propose using this “emic” approach to studying innovation when deciding who to award grants to.

As far as policy recommendations go, I propose that, in fostering innovation, it is imperative not to impose ideas of innovation on communities. Rather, the genre ideals and evaluative criteria of the various communities that constitute the genre community should be understood on their own terms. Funding should be awarded based on whether applicants' work serves to exemplify the ideals of existing communities or whether applicants' work serves to bring communities together through intercohesive labour. For starters, two fundings schemes could be created to, on one hand, foster network diversity and, on the other, to encourage those who wish to harness it to do so. Not "listening to the voice" of musicians and artists risks removing the very diversity that is the basis of innovation from the equation.

Conclusion

Genre is a heuristic. Using genre as a conceptual tool through which to study patterns in the way things and ideas are produced foregrounds the question of "why are things done in a certain way?" In other words, genre-based approaches to studying networked innovation foreground "conventions" (Becker, 1982). Using the term "genre" suggests that there are other ways of doing things and renders modes of production contingent upon institutional conditions rather than absolute. The task in my thesis was to push the boundaries of genre-based conceptual approaches derived from cultural and organisational sociology to understanding innovation as a social process by using the case study of jazz musicians in Singapore.

Through exploring the ways in which jazz musicians in Singapore navigate “intercohesive dissonance” while performing the “work of recombination”, I have shown how genre evolution and emergence in jazz music in Singapore may be conceptualised as a function of navigating the exigencies of comembership to multiple communities.

In this thesis, I have shown how new genres and communities with their own unique set of ideals can emerge through actors performing the “work of recombination” as they navigate network diversity, thereby answering the main research question regarding how genres evolve or emerge. In the process, I discovered four genre ideals (Lena, 2012) adopted by jazz musicians in Singapore whose evaluative criteria segments the community. The four genre ideals I discovered are coupled with four distinct evaluative criteria and thereby represent different “forms of worth” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006) that govern the allocation of peer esteem differently depending on the social context in which they are invoked. These genre ideals govern the evaluative criteria and networking styles of the constituents of the four worlds in the Singapore jazz musician community and simultaneously render communities in the Singapore jazz musician community both distinct and cohesive.

Innovation requires both network diversity and intercohesive labour. Innovation – genre evolution and emergence in this context – is not only a function of network diversity but also actors performing intercohesive labour at the overlap of communities. This labour

involves navigating the genre ideals of the communities whose overlap actors occupy, with this overlap as cognitive as it is material. Navigating these genre ideals requires actors to first learn about these evaluative criteria. Learning about evaluative criteria requires membership to the communities at the overlap. Membership is something indicated by networking style. Actors indicate membership to communities through the adoption of networking styles that signal evaluative criteria through demonstrating actors' attitudes toward "boundary topics" or topics that split people by defining community boundaries. Such topics include the meaning of jazz, self-promotion, cross-genre collaboration, and jazz elitism. These networking styles signal adoption of evaluative criteria. Networking styles that afford comembership to multiple communities straddle multiple evaluative criteria as they are cultivated to glean peer esteem from existing communities that adopt diverging ideals. Peer esteem from multiple communities, especially in a field like jazz, is paramount if one is to continue drawing the resources from diverse communities required to innovate or, in this sense, distinguish oneself and one's work from others.

Identifying genre ideals is to identify notions of worth (evaluative criteria) and thereby notions of innovation or innovativeness. Intercohesive labour is a driver of innovation as it requires actors to not only learn about the genre ideals and evaluative criteria of the respective communities they straddle but also involves them cultivating networking styles that allow them to navigate these

evaluative criteria. As each genre ideal has its own evaluative criteria, each ideal also has its own notion of innovation as what is considered "good" differs from community to community. As such, while many engage in intercohesion whether they like it or not, in the wrong place, not everybody's networking styles are appreciated – not everybody manages to glean the requisite peer esteem to be labelled innovative. The "work of recombination" thus involves searching for ways of navigating distinct and potentially conflicting evaluative criteria – in short, networking styles. "New" networking styles that allow musicians navigate multiple evaluative criteria at the overlap are contingent upon the evaluative criteria of the respective overlapping communities and herald the introduction of new genres. Thus, intercohesive labour requires cultivating "complex identities" (Reagans & Zuckerman, 2008) expressed through networking styles that accommodate the evaluative criteria of multiple genre ideals, thereby potentially affording comembership to multiple communities and access to personnel and information. Implicit to adoption of each of the genre ideals are distinct notions of what constitutes worth and, by extension, innovation. Thus, innovation is a function of the capacity of actors to satisfy community-specific notions of innovation – notions of innovation that ultimately shape the ways in which actors innovate. In this way, the kinds of innovation that result from intercohesion can be speculated from identifying and unpacking the evaluative criteria of the genre ideals and communities at the structural fold.

In this way, innovation or genre evolution and emergence in this context is a result of the “friction” generated by dissonance at the structural fold (Stark, 2009; Vedres & Stark, 2010). New networking styles are a result of the recombination of genre ideals governing the evaluative criteria of the genres and communities at the overlap and are emblematic and even generative of new genres ideals and, indeed, genres. With time, new communities replete with their own genre ideals are potentially created from actors performing intercohesive labour. To create a new genre ideal is to create a new genre or evolve an existing genre. These genre ideals either replace existing ones or form new communities that branch off from their parent communities. Thus, my findings extend work on intercohesion as a driver of innovation by foregrounding the lived experiences of those performing the “work of recombination” in the context of the Singapore jazz musician community.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

- **Interview questions are spread over four broad themes: “Relationship with Music”, “Self-Promotion”, “Cross-Genre Collaboration”, and “Taste in Music”**
  - ✓ The themes are only used to broadly categorise the questions.
  - ✓ Answers may apply to all themes.
  - ✓ Questions are asked in no particular order and will depend on the flow of the conversation.
  - ✓ Questions are meant to guide rather than dictate the conversation (semi-structured, in-depth interviews).
  - ✓ Participants encouraged to elaborate further on their answers.
  - ✓ Relevant threads are pursued to a reasonable limit of relevance.
  - ✓ “Seed” questions are marked with an asterisk (1 per theme).

- **Theme 1: Relationship with Jazz Music**
  - **Questions:**

  1. How did you become involved with jazz music? (“Origin story”) *
  2. What are your goals as a musician?
  3. What do you think about the scene locally and in general?
  4. Should jazz musicians go to school?
  5. Can you describe your creative process?

- **Theme 2: Self-Promotion**

- **Questions:**

1. How important is the “business side” of being a jazz musician? *
2. What do you think about social media?
3. What is “selling out” to you?
4. Where do you see yourself in the future?
5. Is there any kind of gig you would not take?

- **Theme 3: Cross-Genre Collaboration**
  - **Questions:**

1. How inclusive/exclusive should jazz be? *
2. What do you think about mixing genres in jazz?
3. What kind of musicians would you like to collaborate with in the future?
4. Would you play anything other than jazz?
5. What do you think about “crossover” music?

- **Theme 4: Taste in Music**
  - **Questions:**

1. What are you listening to right now? *
2. Who did you use to listen to before?
3. Have your tastes changed since you started out?
4. Who are your influences locally and globally? Can you name at least 5 for each?
    a. What do you like about them?

5. Who are your role models locally and globally? Can you name at least 5 for each?
    a. Why are they your role models?
6. Who are other jazz musicians that I should check out locally and globally? Can you name at least 5?
    a. Why should I check them out?
7. Can you recommend me at least 5 of your favourite tracks? Why do you like them?

Appendix B: Respondent Information Sheet

Name	Acronym	Instrument	Age	Gender	Education	Networking Style	Date	Location	Length
Rafaee Mahmood	RM	Drums	31-40	Male	Bachelors	Collectivist	12/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 5 mins
Aya Sekine	AS	Keys	41-50	Female	Masters	Collectivist	2/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 46 mins
Felix Phang	FP	Bass	31-40	Male	Bachelors	Collectivist-Eclectic	16/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 45 mins
Rick Smith	RS	Guitar	61-70	Male	Masters	Collectivist-Eclectic	4/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 24 mins

music characteristic of traditional jazz music.

[28] Colloquial Malay word meaning “catch”, “seize”, or “arrest”.

[29] Rubato is a metric technique used widely in classical music where musicians ignore tempo markings and slow down or speed up at will to express themselves. Rubato in traditional jazz performance is not acceptable as the tempo is usually fixed, with rhythmic expression occurring via other means.

[30] *Talk Cake Sing Song* is a play off the Singlish phrase “talk cock, sing song” which basically translates to “wasting time”. This pun emphasises the local, Singaporean nature of the series while keeping it light-hearted and therefore accessible.

[31] All Singaporean males during the time Goh was eligible for it had to fulfil two and a half years of military training known as “National Service”. The service requirement has since been reduced to two years. It is still possible to fulfil this time in the MDC instead of in a combat unit provided one is able to prove unfitness or disability for combat.

[32] *Getai* (歌台) is a form of folk performance traditionally conducted during the “ghost month” of every lunar year when the gates of hell are believed to open for spirits to roam the corporeal world freely. It involves a group of musicians performing Chinese songs for spirits and is a lucrative industry in Singapore.

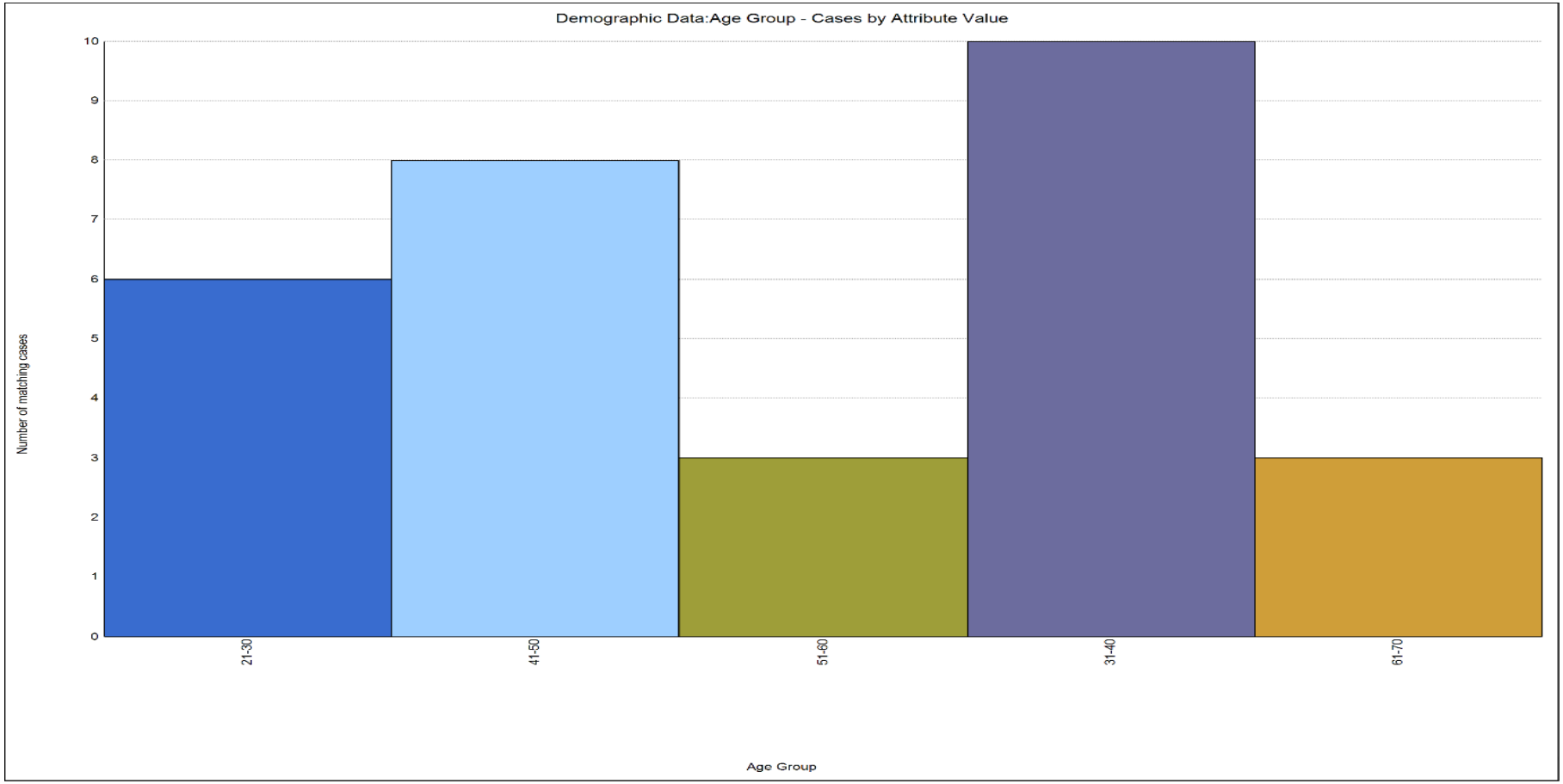
[33] Equivalences include role equivalences shared between soloist (jazz) and emcee (hip-hop). Soloing or emceeing interpreted as modern expressions of African culture through their similarities to griot and drum circle rituals performed by ancestors. In these rituals, as with in soloing in jazz and emceeing in hip-hop, participants take turns to listen and be listened to by peers – cycles of call and response that resemble the practices of older generations. Such practices have been interpreted as enactments of equality and solidarity (Monson, 1996, 2010).

Dawn Ho	DH	Vocals	41-50	Female	Bachelors	Collectivist-Eclectic	17/7/20	Zoom	1 hour 59 mins
Greg Lyons	GL	Saxophone	61-70	Male	Unknown	Eclectic	9/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 47 mins
Tony Makarome	TM	Bass	51-60	Male	Doctorate	Eclectic	12/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 33 mins
Tim O'Dwyer	TO	Saxophone	41-50	Male	Doctorate	Eclectic	16/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 49 mins
Namie Rasman	NR	Vocals	21-30	Female	Bachelors	Eclectic	23/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 40 mins
Norman Seck	NS	Keys	31-40	Male	Masters	Pragmatist	4/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 5 mins
Lou Peixin	PX	Vocals	21-30	Female	Bachelors	Pragmatist	12/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 22 mins
Joanna Dong	JD	Vocals	31-40	Female	Bachelors	Pragmatist	5/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 36 mins
Joel Chua	JC	Keys	31-40	Male	Bachelors	Pragmatist-Collectivist	23/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 35 mins
Anne Weerapass	AW	Vocals	51-60	Female	Diploma	Pragmatist-Collectivist	26/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 2 mins
Tama Goh	TG	Drums	51-60	Male	Diploma	Pragmatist-Eclectic	24/6/20	Café	1 hour 33 mins
Ting Wei Yap	TW	Drums	21-30	Male	Bachelors	Pragmatist-Eclectic	18/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 12 mins
Christy Smith	CS	Bass	61-70	Male	Bachelors	Purist	20/6/20	Zoom	3 hours 30 mins
Aaron James Lee	AJ	Drums	21-30	Male	Diploma	Purist	12/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 36 mins
Wen Ming Soh	WM	Drums	31-40	Male	Bachelors	Purist	29/5/20	WhatsApp	50 mins
Andrew Lim	AL	Guitar	41-	Male	Masters	Purist	12/6/2	Zoom	1 hour 35

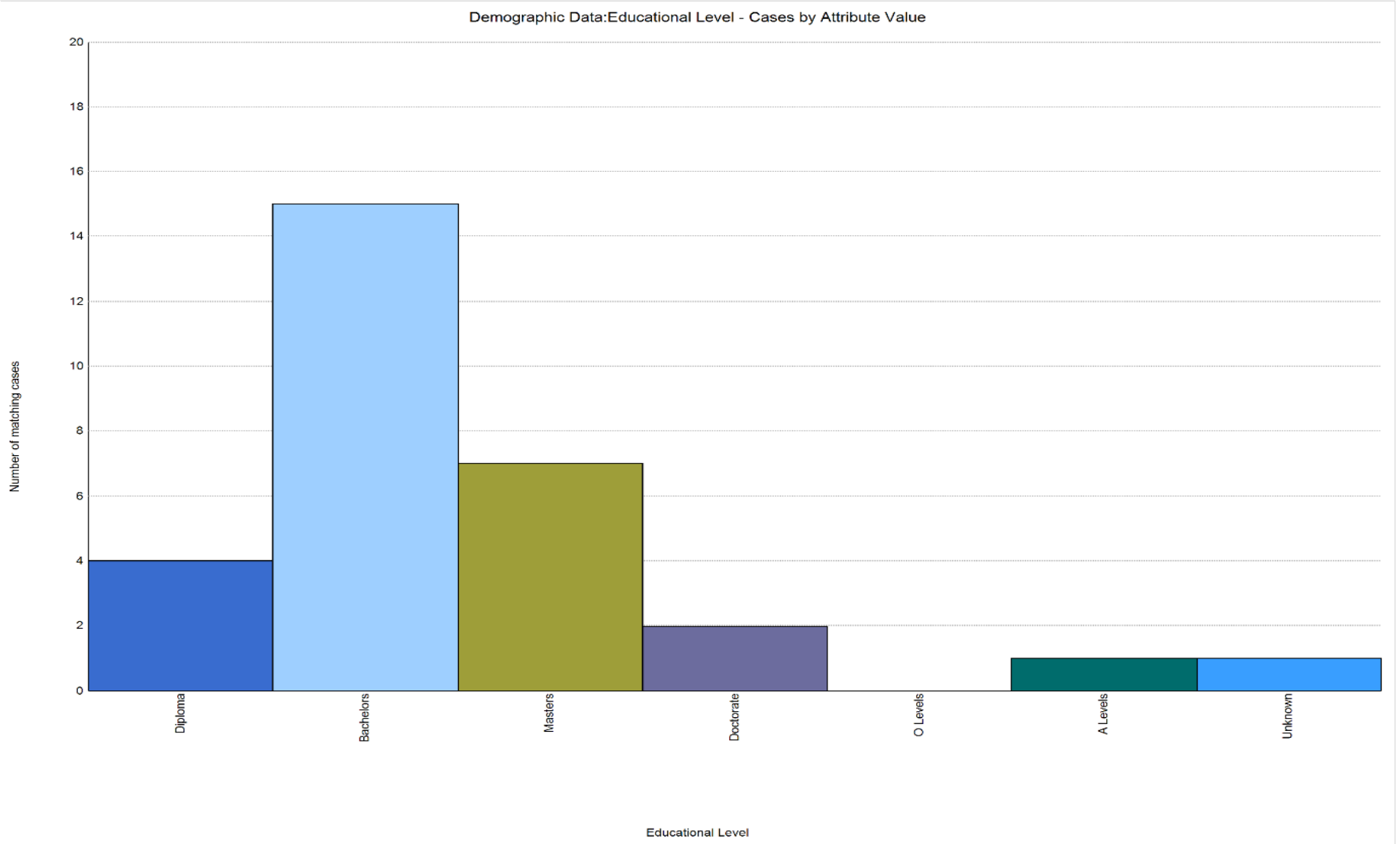
Kia Joon			50				0		mins
Arthur Adika Wiyono	AA	Bass	21-30	Male	Bachelors	Purist-Collectivist	9/7/20	Skype	1 hour 24 mins
Weixiang Tan	WX	Keys	41-50	Male	Masters	Purist-Collectivist	10/7/20	Zoom	1 hour 3 mins
Edmund Wuu	EW	Saxophone	41-50	Male	Bachelors	Purist-Collectivist	5/6/20	Zoom	48 mins
Nicole Duffell	ND	Saxophone	41-50	Female	Bachelors	Purist-Collectivist	24/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 45 mins
Alemay Fernandez	AZ	Vocals	41-50	Female	Diploma	Purist-Collectivist	20/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 48 mins
Rit Xu	RX	Flute	31-40	Male	Masters	Purist-Eclectic	18/6/20	Zoom	2 hours 28 mins
Cui Yihao	YH	Trumpet	21-30	Male	Bachelors	Purist-Eclectic	17/7/20	Zoom	59 mins
Yi Zhe Seow	YZ	Bass	31-40	Male	A Levels	Purist-Pragmatist	25/6/20	Zoom	2 hours 2 mins
Anson Fung	AF	Guitar	31-40	Male	Bachelors	Purist-Pragmatist	8/6/20	Zoom	1 hour 42 mins
Jordan Wei	JW	Keys	31-40	Male	Masters	Purist-Pragmatist	16/6/20	Zoom	45 mins

Appendix C: Breakdown of Interview Respondents by “Sociological” Attributes

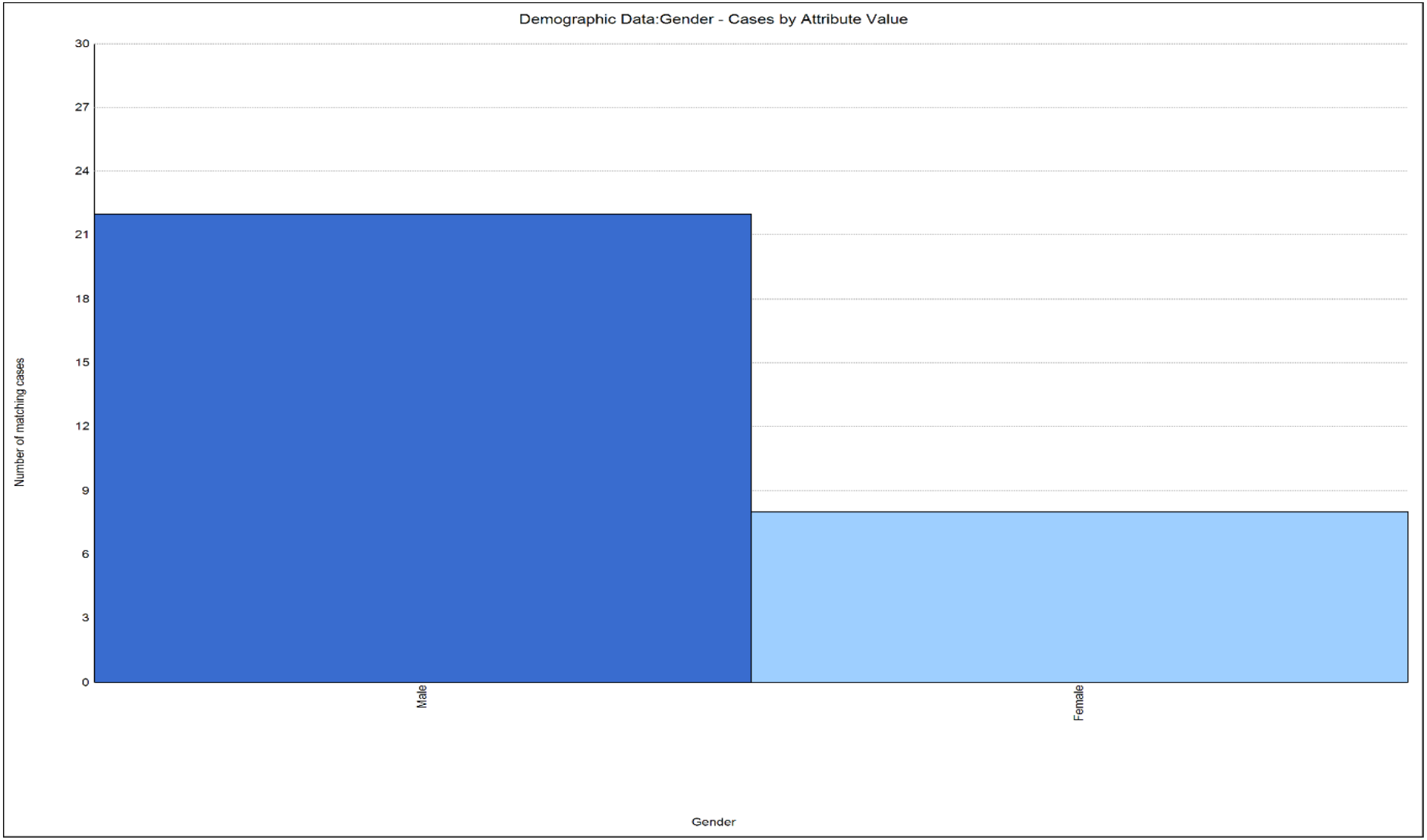
Age



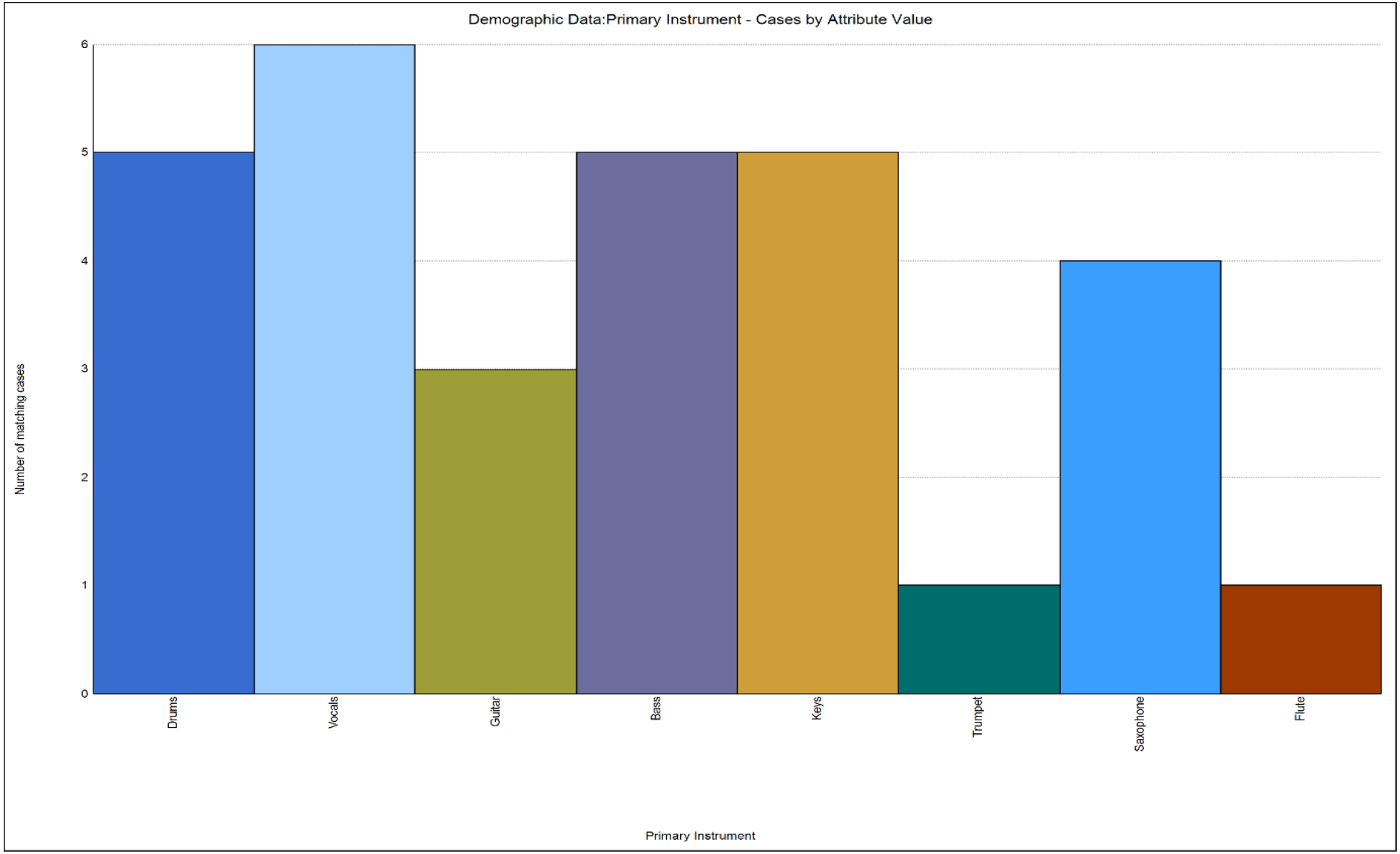
Educational Level



Gender


Demographic Data:Gender - Cases by Attribute Value
Number of matching cases
30
27
24
21
18
15
12
9
6
3
0
Male
Female
Gender

Primary Instrument



Appendix D: List of Communities and their Members in the Condensed Iteration of the Singapore Jazz Musician Community Network

Table 8a: List of Sub-Communities and their Constituents (k = 4; I = 0.083)

Community 1: Jeremy Monteiro, JASS, and the 'Core'	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Adam.Shah
3	Alemay.Fernandez
4	Andrew.Lim
5	Andy.Chong
6	Ang.Shao.Wen
7	Anne.Weerapass
8	Anson.Fung
9	Anson.Koh
10	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
11	Audrey.Tengkey
12	Aya.Sekine
13	Ben.Poh
14	Benny.Goh
15	Benson.Kong
16	Bobby.Singh
17	Brandon.Wong
18	Bryan.de.Rozario
19	Carol.Gomez
20	Casey.Subramaniam
21	Charlie.Lim
22	Chok.Kerong
23	Christine.Sham
24	Christy.Smith
25	Chua.Siong.Loo
26	Colin.Yong
27	Dan.Wong
28	Daniel.Chia
29	Darryl.Ervin

30	Daryl.Tay
31	David.Loke
32	Dawn.Ho
33	Dawn.Wong
34	Eddie.Jansen
35	Eddie.Layman
36	Erik.Hargrove
37	Eugene.Ang
38	Eugene.Chew
39	Eugenia.Yip
40	Euntaek.Kim
41	Evan.Low
42	Fabian.Lim
43	Gabriel.Lee
44	Greg.Lyons
45	Hans.Jonathan.Charis
46	Hiroaki.Maekawa
47	Jase.Sng
48	Jeffrey.Tan
49	Jelene.Luar
50	Jenny.Vie
51	Jeremy.Monteiro
52	Joanna.Dong
53	Joe.Lee
54	Jordan.Wei
55	Joshua.Wan
56	Kelvin.Ang
57	Kenji.Nakano
58	Lee.Ann.Gie
59	Leo.Jeoh
60	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove
61	Lisa.Haryono
62	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou
63	Louis.Soliano
64	Marques.Young
65	Matin.Razlan
66	Matthew.Tan
67	Mei.Sheum
68	Melissa.Tham
69	Michelle.Yap
70	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh
71	Namie.Rasman
72	Nicholas.Lee
73	Nicole.Duffell
74	Oliver.von.Essen
75	Pisit.Piriyaporn

76	Rafaee.Mahmood
77	Rani.Singam
78	Regan.Wickman
79	Regi.Leo
80	Richard.Jackson
81	Rick.Smith
82	Ridz.Razali
83	Rit.Xu
84	Rob.Collins
85	Rudy.Djoe
86	Sandra.Riley.Tang
87	Sarah.Chew
88	Sean.Hong.Wei
89	Sebastian.Ho
90	Shawn.Letts
91	Shmil.Berniker
92	Stephen.Francis
93	Tama.Goh
94	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
95	Teng.Si.Heng
96	Teo.Boon.Chye
97	Teo.Jia.Rong
98	Tim.Stocker
99	Timothy.O.Dwyer
100	Ting.Wei.Yap
101	Tony.Makarome
102	Weixiang.Tan
103	Tim.de.Cotta
104	Zora.Smith
105	Wen.Ming.Soh
106	Trisno.Ishak
107	Titus.Ng
108	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat
Community 2: Greg Lyons and Groove Works	
1	Amery.Harith.Reuben
2	Amos.Manasseh
3	Ashlee.Liu
4	Benjamin.Low
5	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer
6	Chia.Zhe.Yin
7	Christian.Larumbe
8	Chua.Wei.Chin
9	Cui.Yihao
10	Dane.Milea
11	David.Lee
12	Eivind.Lodemel

13	Eugene.Chew
14	Fabian.Lee
15	Greg.Lyons
16	Issei.Suzuki
17	Jerome.Chosson
18	Justin.Baird
19	Kenji.Nakano
20	LeRain.Lee
21	Namie.Rasman
22	Nathaniel.Ng
23	Pierre.Karpov
24	Rachma.Lim
25	Rafaee.Mahmood
26	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
27	Maxim.Yanchenko
28	Soh.Chang.Ci
29	Xavier.Lim
30	Yayoi.Murai
Community 3: The Blue Monks	
1	Alvin.Wong
2	Andreas.Marinello
3	Bani.Rahman
4	Corey.Manders
5	Eric.Lee
6	Eriko.Murakami
7	Jase.Sng
8	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou
9	Masashi.Sasaki
10	Namie.Rasman
11	Rafaee.Mahmood
12	Yohei.Kanda
13	Yong.Lun.Liu
Community 4: Dawn Ho and Indigo	
1	Dawn.Ho
2	Kevin.Guoh
3	Mario.Serio
4	Mohamed.Noor
5	Munir.Alsagoff
Community 5: New Stream Brass Band	
1	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
2	Ben.Thia
3	Dan.ZBerg
4	Eriko.Murakami
5	Ho.Law.Wei
6	Lance.DuBos
7	Leo.Jeoh

8	Vignesh.Mohandasan
9	Yohei.Kanda
Community 6: Sinclair Ang and the Rhythmakers	
1	Khoo.Shen.en
2	Rachma.Lim
3	Sinclair.Ang
4	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
5	Yong.Lun.Liu
Community 7: Alina Ramirez and Ireson	
1	Alina.Ramirez
2	Carlos.Sendros
3	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney
4	Mario.Lopez
5	Moy.Oliveira
Community 8: The Lorong Boys	
1	David.Loke
2	Joachim.Theodore.Lim
3	Jonathan.Shin
4	Rit.Xu
Community 9: Susan Harmer-Lauw and Tropic Green	
1	Chua.Siong.Loo
2	Fabian.Lim
3	Pablo.Calzado
4	Regan.Wickman
5	Susan.Harmer.Lauw

Table 8b: List of Sub-Communities in Community 1 (k = 4; I = 0.083) and their Constituents (k = 5; I = 0.083)

Community 1: Jeremy Monteiro, JASS, and the 'Core'	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Adam.Shah
3	Alemay.Fernandez
4	Andrew.Lim
5	Anne.Weerapass
6	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
7	Anson.Fung
8	Ang.Shao.Wen
9	Audrey.Tengkey
10	Aya.Sekine
11	Ben.Poh
12	Benny.Goh
13	Bobby.Singh
14	Charlie.Lim
15	Bryan.de.Rozario
16	Carol.Gomez

17	Chok.Kerong
18	Christy.Smith
19	Colin.Yong
20	Darryl.Ervin
21	Dan.Wong
22	Eugenia.Yip
23	Euntaek.Kim
24	Chua.Siong.Loo
25	Dawn.Wong
26	Fabian.Lim
27	Evan.Low
28	Jeremy.Monteiro
29	Joanna.Dong
30	Jase.Sng
31	Joe.Lee
32	Joshua.Wan
33	Kenji.Nakano
34	Leo.Jeoh
35	Lee.Ann.Gie
36	Louis.Soliano
37	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove
38	Matthew.Tan
39	Nicole.Duffell
40	Melissa.Tham
41	Mei.Sheum
42	Richard.Jackson
43	Regan.Wickman
44	Rick.Smith
45	Pisit.Piriyaporn
46	Oliver.von.Essen
47	Marques.Young
48	Rit.Xu
49	Rudy.Djoe
50	Sarah.Chew
51	Sean.Hong.Wei
52	Rob.Collins
53	Shawn.Letts
54	Sebastian.Ho
55	Stephen.Francis
56	Tama.Goh
57	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
58	Tim.Stocker
59	Rani.Singam
60	Teng.Si.Heng
61	Timothy.O.Dwyer
62	Ting.Wei.Yap

63	Weixiang.Tan
64	Tony.Makarome
65	Wen.Ming.Soh
66	Zora.Smith
Community 2: Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets	
1	Andy.Chong
2	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
3	Aya.Sekine
4	Darryl.Ervin
5	Lee.Ann.Gie
6	Matin.Razlan
7	Namie.Rasman
8	Rafaee.Mahmood
9	Ridz.Razali
10	Rudy.Djoe
11	Sean.Hong.Wei
12	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
13	Ting.Wei.Yap
14	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat
Community 3: Jordan Wei & Friends and the SMS Band	
1	Alemay.Fernandez
2	Andy.Chong
3	Ben.Poh
4	Colin.Yong
5	Daniel.Chia
6	Eugene.Chew
7	Fabian.Lim
8	Joanna.Dong
9	Jordan.Wei
10	Lisa.Haryono
11	Nicholas.Lee
12	Rit.Xu
13	Sebastian.Ho
14	Sandra.Riley.Tang
15	Teo.Jia.Rong
16	Tim.de.Cotta
17	Trisno.Ishak
Community 4: Tama Goh, Caravan Band, and Loudanclear	
1	Carol.Gomez
2	Brandon.Wong
3	Daniel.Chia
4	Hiroaki.Maekawa
5	Kelvin.Ang
6	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou
7	Mei.Sheum
8	Regi.Leo

9	Sebastian.Ho
10	Tama.Goh
11	Teng.Si.Heng
12	Tony.Makarome

Table 8c: List of Sub-Communities in Community 1 (k = 4; I = 0.083) and their Constituents (k = 6; I = 0.083)

Community 1: Jeremy Monteiro, JASS, and the 'Core'	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Alemay.Fernandez
3	Andrew.Lim
4	Anne.Weerapass
5	Anson.Fung
6	Aya.Sekine
7	Ben.Poh
8	Benny.Goh
9	Bryan.de.Rozario
10	Chok.Kerong
11	Christy.Smith
12	Colin.Yong
13	Darryl.Ervin
14	Dan.Wong
15	Euntaek.Kim
16	Chua.Siong.Loo
17	Dawn.Wong
18	Fabian.Lim
19	Jeremy.Monteiro
20	Joanna.Dong
21	Jase.Sng
22	Joe.Lee
23	Kenji.Nakano
24	Leo.Jeoh
25	Lee.Ann.Gie
26	Louis.Soliano
27	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove
28	Matthew.Tan
29	Nicole.Duffell
30	Melissa.Tham
31	Richard.Jackson
32	Regan.Wickman
33	Rick.Smith
34	Pisit.Piriyaporn
35	Oliver.von.Essen
36	Marques.Young
37	Rit.Xu
38	Rudy.Djoe
39	Sarah.Chew

40	Sean.Hong.Wei
41	Shawn.Letts
42	Sebastian.Ho
43	Stephen.Francis
44	Tama.Goh
45	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
46	Tim.Stocker
47	Teng.Si.Heng
48	Timothy.O.Dwyer
49	Ting.Wei.Yap
50	Weixiang.Tan
51	Wen.Ming.Soh
Community 2: Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets	
1	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
2	Aya.Sekine
3	Darryl.Ervin
4	Matin.Razlan
5	Namie.Rasman
6	Rafaee.Mahmood
7	Ridz.Razali
8	Rudy.Djoe
9	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
10	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat
Community 3: The Steve McQueens	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Andrew.Lim
3	Eugenia.Yip
4	Jase.Sng
5	Joshua.Wan
6	Nicole.Duffell
Community 4: Charlie Lim and the Mothership	
1	Adam.Shah
2	Alemay.Fernandez
3	Charlie.Lim
4	Chok.Kerong
5	Euntaek.Kim
6	Evan.Low
7	Jase.Sng
8	Wen.Ming.Soh
Community 5: Joanna Dong and Friends	
1	Ben.Poh
2	Fabian.Lim
3	Joanna.Dong
4	Jordan.Wei
5	Sebastian.Ho
6	Teo.Jia.Rong

Table 8d: List of Sub-Communities in Community 1 (k = 4; l = 0.083) and their Constituents (k = 7; l = 0.083)

Community 1: Jeremy Monteiro, JASS, and the 'Core'	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Alemay.Fernandez
3	Andrew.Lim
4	Anson.Fung
5	Ben.Poh
6	Benny.Goh
7	Bryan.de.Rozario
8	Christy.Smith
9	Colin.Yong
10	Darryl.Ervin
11	Chua.Siong.Loo
12	Dawn.Wong
13	Fabian.Lim
14	Jeremy.Monteiro
15	Joanna.Dong
16	Joe.Lee
17	Kenji.Nakano
18	Leo.Jeoh
19	Louis.Soliano
20	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove
21	Melissa.Tham
22	Regan.Wickman
23	Marques.Young
24	Rit.Xu
25	Rudy.Djoe
26	Sean.Hong.Wei
27	Shawn.Letts
28	Stephen.Francis
29	Tama.Goh
30	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong
31	Teng.Si.Heng
32	Timothy.O.Dwyer
33	Ting.Wei.Yap
34	Weixiang.Tan
35	Wen.Ming.Soh
Community 2: Aya Sekine and the Jazz Djogets	
1	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono
2	Aya.Sekine
3	Matin.Razlan
4	Namie.Rasman
5	Rafaee.Mahmood
6	Ridz.Razali
7	Rudy.Djoe

8	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat
Community 3: Elite Core 1	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Alemay.Fernandez
3	Andrew.Lim
4	Chok.Kerong
5	Christy.Smith
6	Nicole.Duffell
7	Oliver.von.Essen
8	Tim.Stocker
9	Weixiang.Tan
10	Wen.Ming.Soh
Community 4: Elite Core 2	
1	Aaron.James.Lee
2	Alemay.Fernandez
3	Andrew.Lim
4	Ben.Poh
5	Nicole.Duffell
6	Tim.Stocker
7	Weixiang.Tan
Community 5: Charlie Lim and the Mothership	
1	Adam.Shah
2	Charlie.Lim
3	Chok.Kerong
4	Euntaek.Kim
5	Evan.Low
6	Jase.Sng
7	Wen.Ming.Soh

Appendix E: Optimisation Process for CPMw Algorithm

Before deploying the CPMw algorithm to partition the Singapore jazz musician community, I must first optimise it to identify the best, that is, the richest, values of *k* and *I* to be used by the algorithm when partitioning the network, with *k* values denoting the minimum size of the cliques to be used in clique percolation and *I* values denoting the intensity threshold – an index of the minimum level of group cohesion measured in the geometric mean of tie strength among its members (Farkas et al., 2007, pp. 5 – 7) – required of any detected clique, with a clique defined as a group of musicians who have a minimum of one tie with each other, for it to be included in the resultant community partition.

Threshold Tests

To optimise *I* at any level of *k*, threshold tests must be performed on the network to be partitioned. My decision to use $I = 0.083$ is derived from analysing the results of two threshold tests conducted on the network – the ratio threshold test and the chi threshold test.

Ratio Threshold Test

The ratio threshold test measures the ratio between the two largest communities identified in any given community partition produced by the CPMw algorithm. Farkas et al. (2007) explain how the

optimal *I* value can be found when the size of the largest community detected is twice the size of the second-largest community detected. When the size of the largest community is twice as large as the second-largest, the "point of percolation transition" or "critical point"[34], is identified, signalling that the ideal value of *I* at that level of *k* has been found. If the value of *I* is too high, no communities will be identified, thereby suggesting that the threshold for clique cohesion is too stringent to be useful. If the value of *I* is too low, all nodes are clustered into one large module, thereby suggesting that the threshold is too lax to be useful. Therefore, the point at which the ratio threshold value suddenly increases is used in the ratio threshold test to indicate the optimal value of *I* as it is the point at which the requirement of clique cohesion is neither too stringent nor too lax. The ratio threshold test, however, is useful only for graphs in which many communities can be found due to the strong fluctuations in the ratio threshold value for small networks which render the test results unreliable. The ratio threshold fluctuates because there are not enough nodes and communities to produce a stable distribution of community sizes – a requirement for the test to be useful in and of itself. The ratio threshold test is therefore not a good indicator of whether the optimal distribution of community sizes has been found in relatively smaller networks such as the Singapore jazz musician community network.

[34] The "point of percolation transition" or "critical point" of in percolation theory is the point of *I* at any given value of *k* in which the probability of a node being connected to another node is drastically increased. This increased probability is due to the emergence of a "percolating component", i.e., a giant cluster of nodes to which a large number of nodes in a graph belong, when *I* is lowered beyond the critical point. See Palla et al., 2007 for more information.

The ratio threshold test, however, can be useful in providing clues as to where the range of optimal *I* values might lie when used in conjunction with the other tests. Indeed, as seen in Table 1a, there is no *I* value at which the ratio threshold is 2, that is, there is no point at which the largest community detected is twice as large as the second-largest community detected. That does not mean that the ratio threshold tests results are completely useless. In this instance, the ratio threshold could be better used to find the critical point by narrowing the range of numbers in which the optimal value of *I* can be found and can thus be used in conjunction with the chi threshold test to optimise the value of *I*.

Chi Threshold Test

The chi threshold test measures variance in the size of all detected communities except the largest one. Variance is defined here as deviation from the mean community size score among communities detected by the CPMw algorithm and is represented by x. A higher value of x denotes a broader distribution of community sizes – something that is desirable as it means that the complexity of the network is better captured at a given level of *k* and *I* than if the value of x was lower. As the Singapore jazz musician community network is neither very large nor very small, an appropriate indicator of the optimal *I* value to use alongside the ratio threshold test when dissecting the network is the chi threshold test which is given by the following formula provided by Farkas et al. (2007, p. 8):

$$\chi = \sum^{n_\alpha \neq n_{max}} \frac{n_\alpha^2}{\left(\sum_\beta n_\beta\right)^2}$$

In this formula, x refers to the variance in community sizes among all communities except the largest one in any given community partition, n_α is the set of communities excluding the largest community in any given community partition, and n_β is a set of communities that does not include n_α or the largest community. Variance is small when the *I* value used in the chi threshold test is too high or too low. Too high an *I* value would result in many small communities of equal size while too low an *I* value would result in one gigantic community to which most of the nodes belong followed by many small communities of equal size. If the *I* value is too high or too low, variance between community sizes is small, thereby indicating that the most nuanced community partition will not be detected at that level of *I*. On the other hand, high variance indicates that these two outcomes – outcomes in which there is minimal deviation from the mean community size score due to overly high or low values of *I* – are avoided.

Neither the ratio threshold nor the chi threshold test results can be taken in and of themselves as absolute indicators of what the optimal *k* and *I* values are in the Singapore jazz musician community network as the network is not considered absolutely small nor absolutely big at *n* = 491. Nevertheless, they are still useful in guiding the optimisation process as they provide clues as to where the optimal levels might lie when used in conjunction with each other.

Threshold Test Analysis

As part of the optimisation process, I conduct these threshold tests on the largest iteration of the graph – the “global iteration” in which all musicians are included regardless of how many times they are sampled or whether they are visiting musicians as this is the iteration of the graph in which the largest number of nodes are present, thereby allowing for more salient results. I produce the following table after running the threshold tests at $k = 4$ and 5 and within the range of $I = 0.06$ to 0.12 at increments of 0.005. Tests outside these ranges of k and I did not produce meaningful results.

Table 1a: CPMw Threshold Test Results for the Global Iteration (k = 4; I = 0.06 to 0.12)

k	Intensity (I)	No. of Communities	No. of Isolated Nodes	Ratio Threshold	Chi Threshold (x)
4	0.12	10	354	3.541667	0.280442
4	0.115	10	342	3.576923	0.312105
4	0.11	9	333	3.884615	0.339788
4	0.105	9	332	3.482759	0.364512
4	0.1	9	328	3.931034	0.481618
4	0.095	9	306	4.586207	0.398069
4	0.09	10	298	4.566667	0.32763
4	0.085	9	281	***5.233333***	***0.549763***
4	0.08	7	269	15	0.364221
4	0.075	7	263	15.46154	0.340801
4	0.07	8	258	14.71429	0.295153
4	0.065	8	246	15.64286	0.286299
4	0.06	8	225	16.71429	0.262927
5	0.12	9	365	2.407407	***0.365669***
5	0.115	10	361	2.321429	0.305507
5	0.11	12	354	2.357143	0.226205
5	0.105	13	350	2.464286	0.197957
5	0.1	11	348	2.387097	0.272947

5	0.095	11	338	2.580645	0.241569
5	0.09	9	333	2.645161	0.297069
5	0.085	9	322	2.571429	0.321681
5	0.08	11	314	***2.611111***	0.267307
5	0.075	15	298	6.333333	0.136401
5	0.07	13	292	6.727273	0.169452
5	0.065	14	281	6.782609	0.156898
5	0.06	15	266	6.423077	0.155482

Optimising k

I used k = 4 and 5 because, firstly, iterations above k = 6 contain too many isolated nodes and too few communities for the results to be useful for analysis and, secondly, an extremely large community followed by many small communities of size 3 is returned at k = 3, thereby effectively returning triads rather than communities. Between k = 4 and 5, I decided to use k = 4 for the following reasons.

Compared to the k = 4 iteration, the critical point is not as clearly defined at k = 5. While the ratio threshold value drops from 6.333333 to 2.611111 when I is increased from 0.075 to 0.08, the drop in the ratio threshold value is less drastic than in the k = 4 iteration. As such, the critical point is not as clear-cut at k = 5. Secondly, the value of x is highest at I = 0.12 in the k = 5 iteration. Selecting I = 0.12 at k = 5 to run the community search would not be fruitful as 365 out of 491 nodes would be left out of the equation, effectively meaning that the

community search would only return results for 126 people out of the entire community, thereby returning only a community partition reflecting community structure for a small portion of the entire community. The point of maximal variance also does not line up with the critical point at $k = 5$ as the former is at $I = 0.12$ and the latter is at $I = 0.08$. As the ratio and chi threshold test results do not agree in the $k = 5$ iteration, I chose $k = 4$ as the point of maximal variance and critical point are both aligned at $I = 0.085$.

Optimising I

Having settled on a k value, I then had to choose an I value from a range of possibly optimal I values, namely, $I = 0.081$ to 0.085. As shown in Table 1a, the ratio threshold value suddenly drops from 15 at $I = 0.08$ to 5.233333 at $I = 0.085$ in the $k = 4$ iteration, suggesting that the critical point for $k = 4$ is somewhere between $I = 0.81$ and $I = 0.085$ as the large module that obscures sub-communities in cases where the value of I is too low ceases to exist when the value of I is increased by 0.005 from 0.08 to 0.085. The chi threshold test results support the idea that the optimal value of I is somewhere within $I = 0.081$ to 0.085 as the highest value of x in Table 1a, 0.549763, can be found at $I = 0.085$. This indicates that $I = 0.085$ is the point at which the variance of community sizes is at its broadest among all values of I within the range of $I = 0.06$ to 0.12.

To decide on the final value of *I* to use, I conduct the threshold tests in the range of *I* = 0.081 to 0.085 in increments of 0.01, with the results thereof presented in Table 1b.

Table 1b: CPMw Threshold Test Results for Global Iteration (*k* = 4; *I* = 0.081 to 0.085)

k	Intensity (*I*)	No. of Communities	No. of Isolated Nodes	Ratio Threshold	Chi Threshold (x)
4	0.085	9	281	5.233333	0.549763
4	0.084	9	277	4.9375	0.562632
4	0.083	9	277	***4.96875***	***0.562632***
4	0.082	8	277	14.23077	0.282914
4	0.081	8	270	14.76923	0.282914

As shown in Table 1b, the critical point is *I* = 0.083 as the ratio threshold value drops from 14.23077 to 4.96875 when the value of *I* is increased from 0.082 to 0.083. According to Farkas et al. (2007), the optimal value of *I* is 0.083 as that is the number just above the "critical point" – the point where the ratio between the largest and the second largest community is the largest (p. 7). As such, the ratio threshold test suggests that *I* = 0.083 is the optimal value for the intensity threshold. The chi threshold test supports this as the highest value of x in Table 1b is not at *I* = 0.085 but at *I* = 0.083 at 0.562632, meaning that the

variance of community sizes is slightly broader at I = 0.083 than at I = 0.085. Even though the value of x is also 0.562632 at 0.084, I do not use it because it is not aligned with the critical point. Thus, both tests suggest that the optimal value of I is 0.083 as that is where the ratio threshold and chi threshold test results align.

Appendix F: Eigenvector, Betweenness, and Strength Centrality Scores (Condensed and Global Iterations)

Eigenvector Centrality (Condensed Iteration)

No.	ID	Eigenvector Centrality
1	Aaron.James.Lee	1
2	Christy.Smith	0.838665932
3	Sean.Hong.Wei	0.631021402
4	Jeremy.Monteiro	0.608925458
5	Weixiang.Tan	0.606911269
6	Andrew.Lim	0.598070839
7	Kenji.Nakano	0.569771822
8	Ben.Poh	0.487612705
9	Nicole.Duffell	0.462830794
10	Audrey.Tengkey	0.398680296
11	Alemay.Fernandez	0.384627156
12	Wen.Ming.Soh	0.346392974
13	Tama.Goh	0.249243236
14	Aya.Sekine	0.204219451
15	Chok.Kerong	0.175282685
16	Ting.Wei.Yap	0.171342324
17	Rit.Xu	0.166644071
18	Jase.Sng	0.165044645
19	Shawn.Letts	0.158878404
20	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong	0.154264464
21	Bryan.de.Rozario	0.148101334
22	Darryl.Ervin	0.145933251
23	Joshua.Wan	0.144012399
24	Melissa.Tham	0.130649422
25	Teng.Si.Heng	0.130338179
26	Richard.Jackson	0.12803386
27	Louis.Soliano	0.127115765
28	Jordan.Wei	0.120547343
29	Joe.Lee	0.1191736

30	Fabian.Lim	0.116804671
31	Oliver.von.Essen	0.113837584
32	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	0.110902513
33	Leo.Jeoh	0.110016192
34	Benny.Goh	0.109393607
35	Anson.Fung	0.107136307
36	Teo.Jia.Rong	0.099962616
37	Carol.Gomez	0.095979384
38	Timothy.O.Dwyer	0.089073908
39	Dawn.Wong	0.087285625
40	Joanna.Dong	0.083708242
41	Lee.Ann.Gie	0.083616531
42	Tim.Stocker	0.081134751
43	Anne.Weerapass	0.068927263
44	Zora.Smith	0.067042699
45	Euntaek.Kim	0.063570232
46	Rudy.Djoe	0.062608697
47	Matthew.Tan	0.061952339
48	Mei.Sheum	0.06187485
49	Erik.Hargrove	0.060585831
50	Chua.Siong.Loo	0.060190882
51	Tony.Makarome	0.059748458
52	Regan.Wickman	0.05901501
53	Sarah.Chew	0.058985933
54	Sebastian.Ho	0.056936273
55	Dan.Wong	0.056929697
56	Rick.Smith	0.056065828
57	Greg.Lyons	0.05284763
58	Namie.Rasman	0.051985201
59	Daniel.Chia	0.049266657
60	Eddie.Layman	0.045440266
61	Nicholas.Lee	0.045177365
62	Eugene.Chew	0.044207185
63	Andy.Chong	0.044013021
64	Colin.Yong	0.043510327
65	Rafaee.Mahmood	0.04321698
66	Eugenia.Yip	0.042756461
67	Rani.Singam	0.039512681
68	Stephen.Francis	0.039047795
69	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	0.03895239
70	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	0.036848552
71	Bobby.Singh	0.035755916
72	Regi.Leo	0.033426367
73	Nathaniel.Ng	0.033341467
74	Xavier.Lim	0.032947542

75	Ridz.Razali	0.032829218
76	Anson.Koh	0.032812328
77	Cui.Yihao	0.032186112
78	Hans.Jonathan.Charis	0.030580962
79	Dawn.Ho	0.0301182
80	Jeffrey.Tan	0.029903281
81	Marques.Young	0.028862491
82	Fabian.Lee	0.028344409
83	Matin.Razlan	0.027000853
84	Adam.Shah	0.026647207
85	Shmil.Berniker	0.025248418
86	Rachma.Lim	0.024882755
87	Michelle.Yap	0.024833951
88	Evan.Low	0.02447652
89	Pisit.Piriyaporn	0.023279239
90	Charlie.Lim	0.023163752
91	Felix.Phang	0.021617945
92	David.Loke	0.02113165
93	Amery.Harith.Reuben	0.021104035
94	Tim.de.Cotta	0.020841979
95	Darren.Moore	0.020077302
96	Lisa.Haryono	0.01958406
97	Alina.Ramirez	0.018620132
98	Rob.Collins	0.018520068
99	Titus.Ng	0.017992072
100	Issei.Suzuki	0.017689908
101	Eddie.Jansen	0.017396559
102	Brandon.Wong	0.017245336
103	Eugene.Ang	0.016972281
104	Trisno.Ishak	0.016186054
105	David.Lee	0.015970599
106	Jenny.Vie	0.015307435
107	Ang.Shao.Wen	0.014828046
108	Mario.Serio	0.014600681
109	Jerome.Chosson	0.014469768
110	Amos.Manasseh	0.014128263

111	Mathilda.D.Silva	0.014059982
112	Alvin.Wong	0.013998482
113	Eriko.Murakami	0.01385218
114	Pablo.Calzado	0.013244986
115	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0.012820948
116	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	0.012339999
117	Yohei.Kanda	0.012333595
118	Casey.Subramaniam	0.011722456
119	Beverly.Morata	0.011632397
120	Corey.Manders	0.011623098
121	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	0.01140426
122	Christian.Larumbe	0.01116574
123	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	0.011100926
124	Nicholas.Lim	0.01077211
125	Hiroaki.Maekawa	0.010305317
126	Moy.Oliveira	0.010072953
127	Bani.Rahman	0.009690915
128	Yvette.Atienza	0.009558364
129	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	0.00949439
130	Gabriel.Lee	0.009475804
131	Siti.Nur.Iman	0.00924065
132	Mohamed.Noor	0.009196736
133	Andreas.Marinello	0.009103055
134	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0.009100624

135	Chia.Zhe.Yin	0.008885663
136	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0.008757675
137	Christine.Sham	0.008713269
138	Kelvin.Ang	0.008353826
139	Daryl.Tay	0.008351144
140	Joshua.Francis	0.007961473
141	Duncan.McKee	0.007867561
142	Khoo.Shen.en	0.007464159
143	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	0.007342069
144	Pablo.Tani	0.007304864
145	Josiah.Suthan	0.007285651
146	Dane.Milea	0.007280094
147	Govin.Tan	0.007239066
148	Stephen.Rufus	0.007186635
149	Ramu.Thiruyanam	0.006986237
150	Kaz.Hiramatsu	0.006790649
151	Sandra.Riley.Tang	0.006566214
152	Benjamin.Low	0.006390036
153	Michelle.Poh	0.006381783
154	Simplicius.Cheong	0.00636173
155	Seow.Yi.Zhe	0.005870447
156	Jonathan.Shin	0.00586735
157	Sinclair.Ang	0.005825484
158	Dan.ZBerg	0.005429355

159	Enya.Lim	0.005397526
160	Tony.Zee	0.005174337
161	Lester.Ang	0.005150666
162	Lance.DuBos	0.005078009
163	Audrey.Tang	0.00501711
164	Judy.Tsai	0.004961462
165	Yong.Lun.Liu	0.004923401
166	Munir.Alsagoff	0.004859675
167	Jelene.Luar	0.004830715
168	Teo.Boon.Chye	0.004657351
169	Jacintha.Abisheganaden	0.004595989
170	Indra.Ismail	0.004452363
171	Ashlee.Liu	0.004378573
172	Masashi.Sasaki	0.004375428
173	Caleb.Koa	0.004351456
174	Soh.Chang.Ci	0.004137716
175	Feng.Lee	0.004011062
176	Samuel.Cheah	0.003912175
177	Maxim.Yanchenko	0.003778437
178	Kevin.Bennett.Jr	0.003771944
179	Mario.Lopez	0.003747372
180	Benson.Kong	0.003716126
181	Rizal.Sanip	0.003634299
182	Ho.Law.Wei	0.003579986

183	Amanda.Lee	0.003536664
184	Eric.Lee	0.003316838
185	Rex.Chin	0.003225045
186	Robert.Nalin	0.003004112
187	Ben.Thia	0.00286391
188	Nolan.Bradbury	0.002843168
189	Keith.Chang	0.00266717
190	Edmund.Wuu	0.002665231
191	Lee.Lin.Chow	0.002654406
192	LeRain.Lee	0.00256724
193	Justin.Baird	0.002543244
194	Yong.Kailin	0.002451432
195	Yayoi.Murai	0.002353914
196	Ywenna.Carollin	0.002248666
197	Joseph.Saleem	0.002009079
198	Kevin.Guoh	0.001980406
199	Eivind.Lodemel	0.00193043
200	Chua.Wei.Chin	0.001805501
201	Pierre.Karpov	0.001805501
202	Leonardo.Mendoza	0.00176985
203	Kachi.Chan	0.001694008
204	Gabriel.Lim	0.001642064
205	Janelle.Tan	0.001310617
206	Alexandra.Hsieh	0.001259476

207	Chan.Chi.Ling	0.001101952
208	Victor.Lum	0.001084127
209	Daniel.Purnomo	0.000995037
210	Ian.Cheah	0.000983118
211	KK.Ng	0.000983118
212	Wendy.Phua	0.000844148
213	Robert.Fernando	0.000694638
214	Jeremy.Yeo	0.000593798
215	Carlos.Sendros	0.000529312
216	Maya.Nova	0.000344
217	Julian.Cheong	3.50E-05

Betweenness Centrality (Condensed Iteration)

No.	Name	Betweenness Centrality
1	Eugene.Chew	1462.585
2	Namie.Rasman	1411.474
3	Rit.Xu	1405.112
4	Darryl.Ervin	1174.969
5	Jordan.Wei	1111.538
6	Kaz.Hiramatsu	1024.938
7	Joe.Lee	1013.623
8	Nicole.Duffell	971.1952

9	Yvette.Atienza	938.8822
10	Ben.Poh	898.6201
11	Aya.Sekine	810.9358
12	Amanda.Lee	810.357
13	Tama.Goh	804.0348
14	Greg.Lyons	747.8831
15	Rafaee.Mahmood	703.5708
16	Alemay.Fernandez	700.8334
17	Ting.Wei.Yap	699.786
18	Christy.Smith	679.2045
19	Rick.Smith	669.4415
20	Bobby.Singh	563.2882
21	Hiroaki.Maekawa	547.4517
22	Stephen.Rufus	535.4686
23	Tony.Makarome	526.2459
24	Louis.Soliano	524.6534
25	Sean.Hong.Wei	518.562
26	Carol.Gomez	515.5828
27	Te.Pongthipok.Soottthipong	508.7802
28	Ben.Thia	507.7699
29	Anne.Weerapass	496.3228
30	Anson.Koh	480.4526
31	Dawn.Ho	461.3856
32	Jeremy.Monteiro	457.7951
33	Sarah.Chew	450.9517
34	Eddie.Jansen	434.718

		8
35	Eugene.Ang	431.4541
36	Aaron.James.Lee	429.6469
37	Andrew.Lim	424.3428
38	Daniel.Chia	409.0764
39	Pisit.Piriyaporn	408.2082
40	Mathilda.D.Silva	407.7
41	Andreas.Marinello	405.9372
42	Fabian.Lim	398.8783
43	Teo.Jia.Rong	394.8671
44	Alvin.Wong	384.1096
45	Matin.Razlan	366.3973
46	Leo.Jeoh	349.7436
47	Jerome.Chosson	348.8316
48	Rachma.Lim	347.452
49	Anson.Fung	342.9508
50	Euntaek.Kim	333.6539
51	Mario.Serio	326.0253
52	Brandon.Wong	284.9717
53	Leonardo.Mendoza	283.0371
54	Ashlee.Liu	278.4076
55	Pablo.Calzado	277.5695
56	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	263.1887
57	Fabian.Lee	248.3043
58	Richard.Jackson	243.2346
59	Sebastian.Ho	242.262

		3
60	Jase.Sng	241.8217
61	Dawn.Wong	241.0966
62	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	234.3437
63	Lee.Ann.Gie	229.1327
64	David.Loke	227.99
65	Eddie.Layman	222.7908
66	Audrey.Tengkey	221.5052
67	Eivind.Lodemel	221.3509
68	Duncan.McKee	220.9131
69	Weixiang.Tan	217.3506
70	Daniel.Purnomo	215.1429
71	Amery.Harith.Reuben	214
72	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	209.8447
73	Colin.Yong	197.1985
74	Pablo.Tani	180.8062
75	Seow.Yi.Zhe	179.8641
76	Michelle.Poh	178.354
77	Lisa.Haryono	169.2749
78	Felix.Phang	168.1044
79	Beverly.Morata	167.9975
80	Wen.Ming.Soh	167.8966
81	Eriko.Murakami	166.4406
82	Xavier.Lim	162.7796
83	Cui.Yihao	162.7495
84	Mei.Sheum	160.782

		9
85	Chia.Zhe.Yin	159.6472
86	Kevin.Bennett.Jr	158.8512
87	Benson.Kong	157.5372
88	Chok.Kerong	152.0217
89	Mohamed.Noor	151.7159
90	Chan.Chi.Ling	150.1508
91	Edmund.Wuu	148.4966
92	Teo.Boon.Chye	147.2095
93	Lee.Lin.Chow	145.3317
94	Kenji.Nakano	135.9486
95	Titus.Ng	132.6141
96	Benjamin.Low	130.9562
97	Joshua.Francis	125.2657
98	Rudy.Djoe	123.5039
99	Tim.de.Cotta	121.7425
100	Casey.Subramaniam	120.2508
101	Melissa.Tham	114.6902
102	Stephen.Francis	103.7977
103	Bryan.de.Rozario	101.951
104	Alina.Ramirez	101.6581
105	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	99.85979
106	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	99.51925
107	Joanna.Dong	97.3652
108	Eugenia.Yip	90.91527
109	Marques.Young	90.4905

110	Rani.Singam	85.20389
111	Timothy.O.Dwyer	82.98648
112	Soh.Chang.Ci	82.79285
113	Darren.Moore	82.75119
114	Lester.Ang	81.6046
115	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	80.94685
116	Josiah.Suthan	76.27228
117	Adam.Shah	75.10653
118	LeRain.Lee	74.02399
119	Govin.Tan	69.23397
120	Teng.Si.Heng	67.23634
121	Nicholas.Lee	62.93052
122	Yong.Kailin	62.85515
123	Rizal.Sanip	59.86491
124	Corey.Manders	59.24888
125	Rex.Chin	57.5889
126	Dan.Wong	57.10711
127	Joshua.Wan	54.21784
128	Mario.Lopez	54.04023
129	Caleb.Koa	50.63767
130	Oliver.von.Essen	45.63246
131	Nicholas.Lim	44.65002
132	Khoo.Shen.en	43.8228
133	Moy.Oliveira	42.8979
134	Yong.Lun.Liu	42.63101
135	Victor.Lum	42.1801
136	Shawn.Letts	37.8794

		6
137	Michelle.Yap	37.63511
138	Tim.Stocker	36.07202
139	Gabriel.Lee	35.09266
140	Feng.Lee	34.84202
141	Regi.Leo	34.71958
142	Rob.Collins	33.93478
143	Alexandra.Hsieh	33.10279
144	Shmil.Berniker	31.66461
145	Kelvin.Ang	31.25265
146	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	30.19524
147	Audrey.Tang	29.05826
148	Keith.Chang	28.16353
149	Joseph.Saleem	27.60484
150	Dan.ZBerg	27.4418
151	Jelene.Luar	27.06328
152	Yohei.Kanda	24.56888
153	Erik.Hargrove	24.42357
154	Matthew.Tan	24.37965
155	Jeffrey.Tan	22.26196
156	Chua.Siong.Loo	21.95764
157	Christian.Larumbe	21.12506
158	Nathaniel.Ng	20.39512
159	Andy.Chong	19.22354
160	Gabriel.Lim	17.64281

161	Simplicius.Cheong	16.73243
162	Hans.Jonathan.Charis	16.21876
163	Sandra.Riley.Tang	16.03855
164	Judy.Tsai	15.40261
165	Tony.Zee	14.96542
166	Jeremy.Yeo	13.68587
167	Ang.Shao.Wen	13.46433
168	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	12.65018
169	Eric.Lee	11.79167
170	Christine.Sham	10.68077
171	Jenny.Vie	9.625487
172	Ramu.Thiruyanam	8.898519
173	Zora.Smith	8.897752
174	Dane.Milea	7.821429
175	Charlie.Lim	7.693749
176	Yayoi.Murai	6.359226
177	Enya.Lim	6.251941
178	Evan.Low	6.193749
179	Amos.Manasseh	5.017857
180	Masashi.Sasaki	4.953239
181	Maya.Nova	3.253143
182	Regan.Wickman	3.14957
183	Trisno.Ishak	2.289835
184	Bani.Rahman	2.183333
185	Benny.Goh	1.33432

		1
186	Wendy.Phua	1.268623
187	Carlos.Sendros	1
188	Munir.Alsagoff	0.734145
189	Justin.Baird	0.62381
190	Nolan.Bradbury	0.452778
191	Samuel.Cheah	0.425595
192	Siti.Nur.Iman	0.396429
193	Kachi.Chan	0.299384
194	Lance.DuBos	0.263519
195	Ywenna.Carollin	0.140909
196	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0
197	Chua.Wei.Chin	0
198	Daryl.Tay	0
199	David.Lee	0
200	Ho.Law.Wei	0
201	Ian.Cheah	0
202	Indra.Ismail	0
203	Issei.Suzuki	0
204	Jacintha.Abishegan aden	0
205	Janelle.Tan	0
206	Jonathan.Shin	0
207	Julian.Cheong	0
208	Kevin.Guoh	0
209	KK.Ng	0
210	Maxim.Yanchenko	0
211	Pierre.Karpov	0
212	Ridz.Razali	0
213	Robert.Fernando	0
214	Robert.Nalin	0
215	Sinclair.Ang	0
216	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0
217	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0

Strength Centrality (Condensed Iteration)

No.	ID	Strength Centrality
1	Aaron.James.Lee	6.212765957
2	Christy.Smith	5.829787234
3	Ben.Poh	5.106382979
4	Greg.Lyons	5.106382979
5	Jeremy.Monteiro	4.829787234
6	Sean.Hong.Wei	4.723404255
7	Weixiang.Tan	4.680851064
8	Tama.Goh	4.276595745
9	Alemay.Fernandez	4
10	Rafaee.Mahmood	3.595744681
11	Aya.Sekine	3.446808511
12	Kenji.Nakano	3.340425532
13	Wen.Ming.Soh	3.255319149
14	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong	3.170212766
15	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	3.127659574
16	Andrew.Lim	3.042553191
17	Jordan.Wei	2.978723404
18	Teo.Jia.Rong	2.872340426
19	Carol.Gomez	2.872340426
20	Cui.Yihao	2.787234043
21	Fabian.Lee	2.70212766
22	Nicole.Duffell	2.553191489
23	Rit.Xu	2.38297872

		3
24	Jase.Sng	2.319148936
25	Darryl.Ervin	2.319148936
26	Rachma.Lim	2.14893617
27	Fabian.Lim	2.106382979
28	Chok.Kerong	2.042553191
29	Leo.Jeoh	2.021276596
30	Daniel.Chia	2.021276596
31	Ting.Wei.Yap	1.978723404
32	Amery.Harith.Reuben	1.914893617
33	Audrey.Tengkey	1.872340426
34	Alvin.Wong	1.872340426
35	Namie.Rasman	1.829787234
36	Teng.Si.Heng	1.829787234
37	Issei.Suzuki	1.808510638
38	Eugene.Chew	1.744680851
39	Nicholas.Lee	1.70212766
40	Andy.Chong	1.595744681
41	Rudy.Djoe	1.574468085
42	Bryan.de.Rozario	1.531914894
43	Sebastian.Ho	1.531914894
44	Jerome.Chosson	1.510638298
45	Corey.Manders	1.510638298
46	Tony.Makarome	1.510638298
47	Anson.Fung	1.510638298
48	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	1.46808510

		6
49	Bani.Rahman	1.361702128
50	David.Lee	1.361702128
51	Euntaek.Kim	1.361702128
52	Eriko.Murakami	1.340425532
53	Richard.Jackson	1.340425532
54	Lee.Ann.Gie	1.340425532
55	Joshua.Wan	1.29787234
56	Joanna.Dong	1.276595745
57	Benny.Goh	1.255319149
58	Amos.Manasseh	1.255319149
59	Anne.Weerapass	1.255319149
60	Chua.Siong.Loo	1.255319149
61	Shawn.Letts	1.255319149
62	Melissa.Tham	1.234042553
63	Joe.Lee	1.212765957
64	Bobby.Singh	1.212765957
65	Michelle.Yap	1.191489362
66	Christian.Larumbe	1.14893617
67	Louis.Soliano	1.127659574
68	Ridz.Razali	1.127659574
69	Regan.Wickman	1.127659574
70	Oliver.von.Essen	1.106382979
71	Timothy.O.Dwyer	1.106382979
72	Dawn.Ho	1.085106383
73	Chia.Zhe.Yin	1.04255319

		1
74	Yohei.Kanda	1.021276596
75	Anson.Koh	1
76	Pablo.Calzado	1
77	Eugene.Ang	0.978723404
78	Rick.Smith	0.978723404
79	Andreas.Marinello	0.978723404
80	Xavier.Lim	0.936170213
81	Mario.Lopez	0.914893617
82	Dawn.Wong	0.914893617
83	Titus.Ng	0.914893617
84	Mario.Serio	0.872340426
85	David.Loke	0.85106383
86	Erik.Hargrove	0.85106383
87	Mei.Sheum	0.829787234
88	Regi.Leo	0.829787234
89	Eugenia.Yip	0.808510638
90	Matin.Razlan	0.787234043
91	Colin.Yong	0.765957447
92	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0.765957447
93	Kaz.Hiramatsu	0.744680851
94	Alina.Ramirez	0.723404255
95	Nathaniel.Ng	0.723404255
96	Michelle.Poh	0.70212766
97	Benson.Kong	0.680851064
98	Sarah.Chew	0.680851064
99	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	0.638297872

100	Dan.Wong	0.638297872
101	Masashi.Sasaki	0.638297872
102	Yong.Lun.Liu	0.638297872
103	Khoo.Shen.en	0.617021277
104	Lisa.Haryono	0.617021277
105	Seow.Yi.Zhe	0.617021277
106	Brandon.Wong	0.574468085
107	Adam.Shah	0.574468085
108	Evan.Low	0.574468085
109	Munir.Alsagoff	0.574468085
110	Tim.Stocker	0.574468085
111	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	0.574468085
112	Benjamin.Low	0.553191489
113	Dan.ZBerg	0.553191489
114	Dane.Milea	0.553191489
115	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	0.531914894
116	Stephen.Francis	0.531914894
117	Charlie.Lim	0.531914894
118	Eddie.Jansen	0.531914894
119	Stephen.Rufus	0.531914894
120	Teo.Boon.Chye	0.531914894
121	Duncan.McKee	0.510638298
122	Sinclair.Ang	0.510638298
123	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0.510638298

124	Ho.Law.Wei	0.489361702
125	Lance.DuBos	0.489361702
126	Hiroaki.Maekawa	0.489361702
127	Jenny.Vie	0.468085106
128	Shmil.Berniker	0.468085106
129	Kelvin.Ang	0.468085106
130	Rani.Singam	0.468085106
131	Daryl.Tay	0.446808511
132	Ashlee.Liu	0.446808511
133	Mohamed.Noor	0.446808511
134	Pablo.Tani	0.446808511
135	Keith.Chang	0.446808511
136	Eddie.Layman	0.446808511
137	Eric.Lee	0.425531915
138	Jeffrey.Tan	0.425531915
139	Yayoi.Murai	0.425531915
140	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	0.425531915
141	Pisit.Piriyaporn	0.425531915
142	Mathilda.D.Silva	0.425531915
143	Daniel.Purnomo	0.404255319
144	Soh.Chang.Ci	0.404255319
145	Ben.Thia	0.404255319
146	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	0.404255319
147	Yvette.Atienza	0.404255319

148	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0.382978723
149	Kevin.Guoh	0.382978723
150	Felix.Phang	0.382978723
151	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	0.361702128
152	Maxim.Yanchenko	0.361702128
153	Zora.Smith	0.361702128
154	Rizal.Sanip	0.361702128
155	Matthew.Tan	0.340425532
156	Govin.Tan	0.340425532
157	Alexandra.Hsieh	0.319148936
158	Darren.Moore	0.319148936
159	LeRain.Lee	0.319148936
160	Ramu.Thiruyanam	0.319148936
161	Chua.Wei.Chin	0.29787234
162	Pierre.Karpov	0.29787234
163	Audrey.Tang	0.276595745
164	Jonathan.Shin	0.276595745
165	Justin.Baird	0.276595745
166	Lee.Lin.Chow	0.276595745
167	Sandra.Riley.Tang	0.276595745
168	Amanda.Lee	0.276595745
169	Joshua.Francis	0.276595745
170	Moy.Oliveira	0.276595745
171	Tony.Zee	0.276595745

172	Ang.Shao.Wen	0.255319149
173	Beverly.Morata	0.255319149
174	Caleb.Koa	0.255319149
175	Casey.Subramaniam	0.255319149
176	Gabriel.Lee	0.255319149
177	Kevin.Bennett.Jr	0.255319149
178	Tim.de.Cotta	0.255319149
179	Trisno.Ishak	0.255319149
180	Chan.Chi.Ling	0.234042553
181	Christine.Sham	0.234042553
182	Indra.Ismail	0.234042553
183	Jelene.Luar	0.234042553
184	Marques.Young	0.234042553
185	Nicholas.Lim	0.234042553
186	Edmund.Wuu	0.212765957
187	Hans.Jonathan.Charis	0.212765957
188	Josiah.Suthan	0.212765957
189	Judy.Tsai	0.212765957
190	Leonardo.Mendoza	0.212765957
191	Victor.Lum	0.212765957
192	Wendy.Phua	0.212765957
193	Carlos.Sendros	0.191489362
194	Eivind.Lodemel	0.191489362
195	Jeremy.Yeo	0.191489362

196	Nolan.Bradbury	0.191489362
197	Robert.Fernando	0.191489362
198	Enya.Lim	0.170212766
199	Feng.Lee	0.170212766
200	Janelle.Tan	0.170212766
201	Kachi.Chan	0.170212766
202	Lester.Ang	0.170212766
203	Rex.Chin	0.170212766
204	Rob.Collins	0.170212766
205	Robert.Nalin	0.170212766
206	Samuel.Cheah	0.170212766
207	Yong.Kailin	0.170212766
208	Ywenna.Carollin	0.14893617
209	Joseph.Saleem	0.127659574
210	Ian.Cheah	0.106382979
211	Julian.Cheong	0.106382979
212	KK.Ng	0.106382979
213	Siti.Nur.Iman	0.106382979
214	Gabriel.Lim	0.085106383
215	Jacintha.Abisheganaden	0.085106383
216	Maya.Nova	0.085106383
217	Simplicius.Cheong	0.063829787

Eigenvector Centrality (Global Iteration)

No.	ID	Eigenvector Centrality
1	Aaron.James.Lee	1
2	Christy.Smith	0.833604414
3	Jeremy.Monteiro	0.653630798
4	Sean.Hong.Wei	0.651374081
5	Weixiang.Tan	0.610607166
6	Andrew.Lim	0.590917692
7	Kenji.Nakano	0.558866312
8	Ben.Poh	0.508425451
9	Nicole.Duffell	0.452735537
10	Alemay.Fernandez	0.397409323
11	Audrey.Tengkey	0.389689379
12	Wen.Ming.Soh	0.350133359
13	Tama.Goh	0.263570067
14	Aya.Sekine	0.202864996
15	Rit.Xu	0.180431573
16	Chok.Kerong	0.177729119
17	Ting.Wei.Yap	0.170353607
18	Shawn.Letts	0.169253441
19	Bryan.de.Rozario	0.164038865
20	Jase.Sng	0.163870718
21	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong	0.161084517
22	Alex.Sipiagin.US	0.149522333
23	Darryl.Ervin	0.144086081
24	Melissa.Tham	0.143407604
25	Joshua.Wan	0.140497795
26	Teng.Si.Heng	0.134376479
27	Tony.Lakatos.DE	0.131749878
28	Louis.Soliano	0.129302038
29	Richard.Jackson	0.126993374
30	Benny.Goh	0.125394139
31	Fabian.Lim	0.124858293
32	Jordan.Wei	0.121977572
33	Joe.Lee	0.120577465
34	Leo.Jeoh	0.118892251
35	Anson.Fung	0.116560922
36	Hong.Chanutr.Techatananan.TH	0.113859658
37	Oliver.von.Essen	0.113085225
38	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	0.109016965
39	Aldwyn.Tan	0.103834845
40	Teo.Jia.Rong	0.101919307

41	Timothy.O.Dwyer	0.096454522
42	Eugene.Pao.HK	0.095015801
43	Carol.Gomez	0.094123747
44	Joanna.Dong	0.0915795
45	Dawn.Wong	0.086873724
46	Lee.Ann.Gie	0.082348668
47	Tim.Stocker	0.079871111
48	Juliana.da.Silva.BR	0.072163909
49	Sharik.Hasan.IN	0.068740977
50	Chua.Siong.Loo	0.068601901
51	Anne.Weerapass	0.068060197
52	Regan.Wickman	0.067278808
53	Zora.Smith	0.06569838
54	Euntaek.Kim	0.064632559
55	Rudi.Engel.DE	0.063575904
56	Eddie.Wen.MY	0.062802153
57	Rudy.Djoe	0.062385042
58	Jasmine.Chen.CH	0.06233695
59	Tan.Thiam.Hee	0.06233695
60	Tony.Makarome	0.06115198
61	Mei.Sheum	0.060831695
62	Erik.Hargrove	0.060656933
63	Matthew.Tan	0.060506738
64	Sebastian.Ho	0.059184055
65	Sarah.Chew	0.058376737
66	Dan.Wong	0.056208938
67	Rick.Smith	0.055507008
68	Greg.Lyons	0.051211118
69	Namie.Rasman	0.050575029
70	Daniel.Chia	0.050288666
71	Nicholas.Lee	0.046628034
72	Stephen.Francis	0.046447953
73	Colin.Yong	0.046046378
74	Eugene.Chew	0.044639686
75	Eddie.Layman	0.044535235
76	Andy.Chong	0.043865861
77	Jens.Bunge.DE	0.042928004
78	Agnes.Lau	0.042908995
79	Nick.Zavior	0.042908995
80	Eugenia.Yip	0.042001521
81	Rafaee.Mahmood	0.04187785
82	Shawn.Kelley.TH	0.041459385
83	Rani.Singam	0.039723015
84	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	0.039487011
85	Pekka.Pylkkanen.FI	0.038638092

86	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	0.037411792
87	Nick.Hempton.US	0.036354962
88	Don.Gomes.AU	0.036174873
89	Bobby.Singh	0.035313429
90	Regi.Leo	0.033866596
91	Christopher.Yong.Lin	0.033039362
92	Nathaniel.Ng	0.032820275
93	Xavier.Lim	0.032441354
94	Anson.Koh	0.0320088
95	Ridz.Razali	0.031753145
96	Cui.Yihao	0.031594294
97	Marques.Young	0.030029992
98	Hans.Jonathan.Charis	0.029897681
99	Dawn.Ho	0.029328193
100	Jeffrey.Tan	0.029300497
101	Adam.Shah	0.02736768
102	Fabian.Lee	0.027316697
103	Ravee.Treesaksesakoon.TH	0.027293195
104	Bob.Mocarsky.US	0.027269211
105	Sean.Ghazi.MY	0.026732935
106	Matin.Razlan	0.026293805
107	Evan.Low	0.025117834
108	Shmil.Berniker	0.024954025
109	Pisit.Piriyaporn	0.024835909
110	Jonathan.Lim.Yik.Chin	0.024524193
111	Rachma.Lim	0.024402022
112	Michelle.Yap	0.023955777
113	Mark.John.Hariman.AU	0.023860556
114	Charlie.Lim	0.023675849
115	James.Flynn.AU	0.023357977
116	Muhammad.Firdaus	0.023188459

117	Eric.Wyatt.US	0.021723372
118	David.Loke	0.021699194
119	Felix.Phang	0.02136729
120	Tim.de.Cotta	0.020437276
121	Amery.Harith.Reuben	0.020096511
122	Lisa.Haryono	0.019833131
123	Darren.Moore	0.019592081
124	Eugene.Ang	0.018586226
125	Jakob.Dinesen.TH	0.018484656
126	Alina.Ramirez	0.018285264
127	Rob.Collins	0.017997771
128	Vanessa.Fernandez	0.017937592
129	Titus.Ng	0.017741965
130	Eddie.Jansen	0.017639051
131	Brandon.Wong	0.017604106
132	Skye.Sirena	0.017280204
133	Issei.Suzuki	0.016693532
134	Trisno.Ishak	0.016304794
135	Dasha.Logan.MY	0.015973668
136	Ang.Shao.Wen	0.015724731
137	Laura.Fygi.NL	0.01562494
138	Jenny.Vie	0.015618598
139	David.Lee	0.015616338
140	Pablo.Calzado	0.014972232

141	Mario.Serio	0.014417893
142	Mathilda.D.Silva	0.014158882
143	Jerome.Chosson	0.014114442
144	Eriko.Murakami	0.014040898
145	Christina.Zhou	0.013911577
146	Alvin.Wong	0.013814448
147	Amos.Manasseh	0.013771044
148	David.Inamine.US	0.013165949
149	Antonia.Bennett.US	0.013165726
150	Tanya.Darby.US	0.013165726
151	Vanessa.Rubin.US	0.013165726
152	Casey.Subramaniam	0.01291281
153	Steve.Nanda.MY	0.012653694
154	Yohei.Kanda	0.012498446
155	Daniela.Ruggieri	0.012360413
156	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0.012351421
157	Kevin.Lester.LIONCITYBOY	0.012337022
158	Poova.MY	0.012175501
159	Samuel.Phua	0.012060488
160	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	0.011859533
161	Beverly.Morata	0.011695525
162	Priscilla.Tan	0.011612958
163	Edward.Tan	0.011561089
164	John.Escreet.UK	0.011420836

165	Gabriel.Pitts.GMAN	0.011342098
166	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	0.011324443
167	Deborah.Davis.US	0.011237418
168	Corey.Manders	0.011098435
169	Ben.Paterson.US	0.010959096
170	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	0.01078208
171	Christian.Larumbe	0.010519662
172	Hiroaki.Maekawa	0.010504156
173	Nicholas.Lim	0.010480031
174	Teresa.Carpio.HK	0.010326419
175	Chartsayam.Mark.Kiripart.TH	0.010306556
176	Mohamed.Noor	0.010289121
177	Andreas.Marinello	0.010163655
178	Gabriel.Lee	0.009936564
179	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	0.009855341
180	Moy.Oliveira	0.009732099
181	Chan.Yoong.Han	0.009707046
182	Wang.Zi.Hao	0.009707046
183	Daryl.Tay	0.009628424
184	Yvette.Atienza	0.009565117
185	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0.009290985
186	Bani.Rahman	0.009214645
187	Siti.Nur.Iman	0.009088012
188	Christine.Sham	0.008874015

189	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0.008849472
190	Ada.Rovatti.US	0.008713245
191	Randy.Brecker.US	0.008713245
192	Akira.Ishii.JP	0.008688384
193	Chia.Zhe.Yin	0.008469458
194	Kelvin.Ang	0.008379956
195	Tots.Tolentino.PH	0.008377173
196	Armando.Montiel	0.008023173
197	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	0.008020532
198	Joshua.Francis	0.007991959
199	Erol.Danon	0.007885674
200	Duncan.McKee	0.007803842
201	Pablo.Tani	0.007696393
202	Stephen.Rufus	0.007639321
203	Rosanna.Gaerlan	0.0076372
204	Rodrigo.Parejo.ES	0.00751385
205	Ramu.Thiruyanam	0.007438783
206	Khoo.Shen.en	0.007405137
207	Robert.Sunga	0.007368301
208	Govin.Tan	0.00730712
209	Josiah.Suthan	0.007241479
210	Dane.Milea	0.007165176
211	Seow.Yi.Zhe	0.007146297
212	Kaz.Hiramatsu	0.007027964

213	Teriver.Cheung.HK	0.006952845
214	Michael.Pigneguy.AU	0.006884926
215	Samantha.de.Lune.MY	0.006884926
216	Takeshi.Ohbayashi.JP	0.006884926
217	Sandra.Riley.Tang	0.006770834
218	Michelle.Poh	0.006738951
219	Nathan.Hartono	0.006668253
220	Alan.Barnes.UK	0.006632396
221	Albert.Marsico.IT	0.006608584
222	Simplicius.Cheong	0.00656083
223	Imelda.Teo	0.006251136
224	Ryan.Sim	0.006190493
225	Jonathan.Shin	0.006158951
226	Benjamin.Low	0.006089987
227	Michaela.Therese	0.006073238
228	Sinclair.Ang	0.005998961
229	Syakirah.Noble	0.005904721
230	Syawal.Kassim	0.005854663
231	Tony.Zee	0.005515295
232	Dan.ZBerg	0.005486857
233	Enya.Lim	0.005449295
234	Kelvin.Kong	0.005431827
235	Hannes.Hentze	0.005428218
236	Wynton.Marsalis.US	0.005323558

237	Jay.Anderson.US	0.005323558
238	Lance.DuBos	0.005141698
239	Lester.Ang	0.005046122
240	Audrey.Tang	0.005022532
241	Judy.Tsai	0.004963081
242	Christoven.Tan	0.004959592
243	Jelene.Luar	0.004885637
244	Bob.James.US	0.004878849
245	Yong.Lun.Liu	0.004877099
246	Jacintha.Abisheganaden	0.004801427
247	Munir.Alsagoff	0.00470148
248	Clement.Chow	0.00461039
249	Benjamin.Kheng	0.004596291
250	Teo.Boon.Chye	0.004566759
251	Carmen.Bradford.US	0.00450256
252	Howard.Levy.US	0.00450256
253	Michael.Veerapen.MY	0.00450256
254	Ernie.Watts.US	0.00450256
255	Todd.Stoll.US	0.00450256
256	Nathaniel.Gao.CN	0.004314807
257	Caleb.Koa	0.004304557
258	Johannes.Felscher.US	0.004299707
259	Mat.Jodrell.AU	0.004299707
260	Masashi.Sasaki	0.004288442

261	Indra.Ismail	0.004285477
262	Ahmed.Sirour.US	0.004284236
263	Miin.Tong	0.004262176
264	Rahimah.Rahim	0.004245725
265	Peter.Autschbach.DE	0.004235366
266	Samira.Saygili.DE	0.004235366
267	Ashlee.Liu	0.00421671
268	Feng.Lee	0.004211365
269	Ernest.Tay	0.004051609
270	Rizal.Sanip	0.004025162
271	Soh.Chang.Ci	0.003984691
272	Kevin.Bennett.Jr	0.003964404
273	Ignatius.Bong	0.003923905
274	Samuel.Cheah	0.00388647
275	Aynsley.Green	0.003866607
276	Mark.Nunis	0.003851619
277	Jedidiah.Lam	0.003790099
278	Iza	0.003766339
279	Benson.Kong	0.003740264
280	Ho.Law.Wei	0.003704215
281	Mario.Lopez	0.003673108
282	Maxim.Yanchenko	0.00355655
283	Amanda.Lee	0.003556047
284	Stella.Wu	0.003450849

285	Carlos.Gervasio	0.00343375
286	Wayne.Sandz	0.003277105
287	Rex.Chin	0.003247687
288	Christiane.Michaela	0.003197091
289	Jordin.Tan	0.003197091
290	Izat	0.003197091
291	Eric.Lee	0.003169289
292	Dominic.Soon	0.003109124
293	Robert.Nalin	0.00297623
294	Reggie.Pryor	0.002898261
295	Ben.Thia	0.002869861
296	Nolan.Bradbury	0.002793602
297	Muraledharan.Naidu	0.002788457
298	Edmund.Wuu	0.002753133
299	Keith.Chang	0.002681567
300	Krsna.Tan	0.002669928
301	Lee.Lin.Chow	0.002655085
302	Dru.Chen	0.002596573
303	Leonard.Ng	0.002447179
304	LeRain.Lee	0.002443439
305	Justin.Baird	0.002423086
306	Gabriel.de.Leon.MY	0.002391284
307	John.Koh	0.002391284
308	Leon.Yuen.MY	0.002391284

309	Yong.Kailin	0.002379127
310	Genevieve.Seah	0.002350165
311	Jules.Jumari	0.002350165
312	Martin.Tang	0.002348179
313	George.Leong	0.002300343
314	Fumio.Tamiya	0.002300343
315	Takeshi.Nishimura	0.002300343
316	Dominic.Chen	0.002277571
317	Ethel.Yap	0.002277571
318	Yayoi.Murai	0.002248167
319	Sayaka.Uenami.JP	0.002207152
320	Ywenna.Carollin	0.002182684
321	Jon.Chua	0.002180715
322	Carrie.Yeo	0.002180715
323	Narelle.Kheng	0.002180715
324	Aisyah.Aziz	0.002180715
325	Diya.Tan	0.002180715
326	Umar.Sirhan	0.002180715
327	Elaine.Wijaya	0.002170587
328	Sarah.Kei.Lauw	0.002170587
329	Marius.Andrian	0.002170587
330	Sara.Wee	0.002165693
331	Fathin.Amira	0.002165693
332	Paddy.Ong	0.002165693

333	Miles.Tranter	0.002132496
334	Joseph.Saleem	0.00203602
335	Bryan.Lim.Zhi.Wei	0.002023008
336	Abby.Papito	0.002013734
337	Han.Oh	0.001986508
338	Wilson.Ong	0.001986508
339	James.Andrew	0.001950103
340	Kevin.Guoh	0.001917074
341	Eivind.Lodemel	0.001840136
342	Mike.Niederpruem	0.001828633
343	Hakim.bin.Ramle	0.001828633
344	Gerold.Kleinbongardt	0.001828633
345	Jacek.Dubiel	0.001828633
346	Jonathan.Saiman	0.001783995
347	Leonardo.Mendoza	0.001762787
348	Redwan.Hamzah	0.00175872
349	Chua.Wei.Chin	0.001756786
350	Pierre.Karpov	0.001756786
351	Fish.Huang.HK	0.001721151
352	Gabriel.Lim	0.001681981
353	Kachi.Chan	0.001623181
354	Johan.Liedberg	0.001546893
355	Clarice.Handoko	0.001542322
356	Benjamin.Boo	0.001540008

357	Alexandra.Hsieh	0.00151871
358	Luciano.Lemus	0.001512042
359	Karst.de.Jong.NL	0.0015027
360	Sarah.Teh	0.001501935
361	Norman.Seck	0.001493959
362	Kit.Chan	0.001488088
363	Viktor.Dimitrov	0.001450307
364	Kavita.Shah.US	0.001397443
365	Dylan.Foster	0.001378695
366	Shakthiya.Subramaniamm	0.001352683
367	Bennett.Bay	0.001349647
368	Sarah.Cheng.de.Winne	0.001346162
369	Er.Chow.Kiat	0.001346162
370	Erwin.Tan	0.001331047
371	Mark.Yeo	0.001331047
372	Keith.Ong	0.001290037
373	Daniel.Purnomo	0.001278791
374	Kelvin.Ng	0.001257161
375	Janelle.Tan	0.001241236
376	Julian.Abraham.Marantika.ID	0.001200378
377	Chan.Chi.Ling	0.001080563
378	Victor.Lum	0.001063728
379	Wharton.Chan	0.00100366
380	Ian.Cheah	0.000991301

381	KK.Ng	0.000991301
382	Johnny.Gaerlan	0.000976979
383	Furukawa.Kazushiro	0.000976979
384	Jeff.Hue	0.000940631
385	Bings.Lee	0.000940631
386	ZeeAura.Ang	0.000899387
387	David.Gomes.MY	0.000898041
388	Junji.Delfino.MY	0.000898041
389	Fatt.Kew	0.000860091
390	John.Lye	0.000860091
391	Ramona.Irgolic.SI	0.000840247
392	Lee.Hui.Nee	0.000840247
393	Wendy.Phua	0.000828232
394	Daryl.Chen	0.000802934
395	Arun.Matt	0.000798535
396	Kelvin.Feng	0.000786451
397	Tan.Hong.Wee	0.000786451
398	QX.Loo	0.000786451
399	Dominic.Chan	0.000786451
400	Bang.Wenfu	0.000757832
401	Cheryl.Chitty.Tan	0.000757832
402	Robert.Fernando	0.000748922
403	Glen.Wee	0.000683306
404	Justin.Low	0.000679833

405	Faridah.Ali	0.000646162
406	Jeremy.Yeo	0.000643449
407	Marjorie.Hoang	0.000627389
408	Angela.Vargas	0.000625889
409	Rony.Jorge.Martinez	0.000625889
410	Reggie.Perera	0.000617194
411	Pam.Oei	0.000546844
412	Kieran.Walsh	0.000538597
413	Carlos.Sendros	0.000508706
414	Gilbert.Nogales	0.000503341
415	Jeremiah.Hutapea.Jerry	0.000487447
416	Christian.Loh	0.000487447
417	Cole.Yee	0.000487447
418	Subronto.Saaban.Hardjo	0.000487447
419	Goh.Jenn.Woei	0.000487447
420	Joey_Thomson.Jazz	0.000487447
421	Jeff.Huang	0.000487447
422	Adam_Thomson.Jazz	0.000487447
423	Amir.Syahir	0.000487447
424	Charmaine.Lee	0.000487447
425	Shaune.Ng	0.000487447
426	Emma.Loh	0.000422674
427	Nat.Adderley.US	0.000420736
428	Mark.Elton.AU	0.000420736

429	Michael.Isvy	0.000395254
430	Leon.Hunte	0.000395254
431	Kumaranji	0.000391283
432	Ragha	0.000391283
433	Dilip.Ghosh	0.000378189
434	Nicolas.Richardson.Waldin	0.000378189
435	Nesh	0.000374622
436	ZG	0.000374622
437	Leonora.Lim	0.000374622
438	Fraser.Porteous	0.000362375
439	Shane.Heng	0.000346415
440	Dan.Potts	0.000337475
441	Maya.Nova	0.000330977
442	Shu.Mei.Yap	0.000327627
443	Muhamad.Yusri	0.000316551
444	Martin.Goh	0.000316551
445	Calvin.Ang	0.000316551
446	Yeo.Wee.Aik	0.000316551
447	Erik.Tan	0.000316551
448	Kenneth.Lun	0.000316551
449	Keith.Koe.Meng.Kiang	0.000316551
450	Shannon.Chng	0.000316551
451	Deric.Tay	0.000316551
452	Chris.Fernandez	0.000308221

453	Claudia.Montiel	0.000287013
454	Alfonso.Lopez	0.000287013
455	Ernesto.Anaya	0.000287013
456	Roy.Dragon	0.000272008
457	Niq.Osman	0.000261341
458	Ho.Kah.Keh	0.000260135
459	Maya.Raisha	0.000260135
460	Christo.Alexander	0.000247894
461	Ivan.Ong	0.000230402
462	Zi.Wei.Lim	0.000230402
463	Adi.Rakhmadian	0.000201838
464	Lee.Yong.Tick	0.000168094
465	Jessica.Loo	0.000161496
466	Kamal.Bensra	0.000152364
467	Jerome.Lim	0.000136918
468	Navin.Kumar	0.000135109
469	Mark.Chan	0.000132393
470	Andayoma	0.000108127
471	Eduard.Alexander.Aartsen.ID	0.000103852
472	Nita.Aartsen.ID	0.000103852
473	Klaus	0.000100081
474	Eugene.Lam	6.25E-05
475	Sean.Patrick.Rozario	6.25E-05
476	Reginald.Khoo	6.25E-05

477	Julian.Cheong	4.40E-05
478	Sharon.Nunis	4.29E-05
479	Chua.Chia.Hui	4.29E-05
480	MiyataSan	2.77E-05
481	John.Wong	2.77E-05
482	Benjamin.Lee.MY	1.12E-05
483	Jeremy.Ng.Chuan.Kai	4.84E-18
484	Tharman22	3.29E-18
485	Pat.King.Koh	2.01E-18
486	Jeannette.Trevias	1.70E-18
487	Peter.Prem	1.27E-18
488	Greg.Anderson	1.10E-18
489	Ernesto.Valerio	1.08E-18
490	Joshua.Peter	1.00E-18
491	Justin.Ng.Jin.Wen	6.97E-19

Betweenness Centrality (Global Iteration)

No.	Name	Betweenness Centrality
1	Greg.Lyons	8779.831
2	Jordan.Wei	8478.695
3	Jeremy.Monteiro	8239.489
4	Rit.Xu	6503.602
5	Eugene.Chew	5969.206
6	Alemay.Fernandez	5596.74

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7	Namie.Rasman	5263.442
8	Ben.Poh	5241.898
9	Darryl.Ervin	5178.536
10	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong	3883.707
11	Aya.Sekine	3832.957
12	Yvette.Atienza	3796.948
13	Fabian.Lim	3762.76
14	Tama.Goh	3617.524
15	Anson.Koh	3472.853
16	Christy.Smith	3403.305
17	Joe.Lee	3127.639
18	Mario.Serio	3088.801
19	Muhammad.Firdaus	3071.767
20	Nicole.Duffell	3004.036
21	Sean.Hong.Wei	2930.915
22	Ting.Wei.Yap	2897.449
23	Pisit.Piriyaporn	2886.708
24	Kaz.Hiramatsu	2869.911
25	Andrew.Lim	2840.723
26	Sebastian.Ho	2811.564
27	Pablo.Calzado	2751.283
28	Louis.Soliano	2746.32
29	Teo.Jia.Rong	2737.85
30	Stephen.Rufus	2733.797
31	Aaron.James.Lee	2685.296

32	Tony.Makarome	2670.526
33	Eugene.Ang	2619.743
34	Rafaee.Mahmood	2599.913
35	Weixiang.Tan	2593.304
36	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	2579.583
37	Rachma.Lim	2499.759
38	Amanda.Lee	2497.724
39	Sarah.Chew	2386.408
40	Rick.Smith	2362.11
41	Daniel.Chia	2270.114
42	Colin.Yong	2243.955
43	Bobby.Singh	2014.324
44	Carol.Gomez	1990.924
45	Anson.Fung	1981.801
46	Mathilda.D.Silva	1938.498
47	Hiroaki.Maekawa	1913.26
48	Andreas.Marinello	1891.063
49	Benson.Kong	1804.675
50	Anne.Weerapass	1772.435
51	Nicholas.Lee	1766.539
52	Chok.Kerong	1579.327
53	Seow.Yi.Zhe	1465.826
54	Arun.Matt	1453.105
55	Teo.Boon.Chye	1355.686
56	Michelle.Poh	1294.879

57	Wen.Ming.Soh	1276.62
58	Christopher.Yong.Lin	1257.967
59	Ben.Thia	1241.751
60	Sayaka.Uenami.JP	1235.645
61	Jerome.Chosson	1225.849
62	Lisa.Haryono	1191.654
63	Alina.Ramirez	1184.755
64	Eddie.Jansen	1170.269
65	Leo.Jeoh	1163.156
66	Hong.Chanutr.Techatanan.TH	1094.573
67	David.Loke	1070.389
68	Erik.Hargrove	1068.123
69	Euntaek.Kim	1058.017
70	Teng.Si.Heng	1044.599
71	Marques.Young	1024.41
72	Kenji.Nakano	1012.339
73	Dawn.Ho	1009.222
74	Casey.Subramaniam	997.0411
75	Leonardo.Mendoza	939.6937
76	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	932.4554
77	Khoo.Shen.en	930.1875
78	Pablo.Tani	908.1377
79	Edmund.Wuu	870.0859
80	Lee.Lin.Chow	845.5131
81	Amery.Harith.Reuben	842.4114

82	Titus.Ng	839.2693
83	Alex.Sipiagin.US	824.7693
84	Lee.Ann.Gie	819.7405
85	Duncan.McKee	801.712
86	Richard.Jackson	801.5078
87	Beverly.Morata	788.0014
88	Dawn.Wong	769.6946
89	Jerome.Lim	765.9301
90	Audrey.Tengkey	737.9526
91	Jeffrey.Tan	721.0939
92	Eddie.Layman	707.3882
93	Joshua.Francis	698.7795
94	Audrey.Tang	695.8529
95	Andy.Chong	664.0749
96	Julian.Abraham.Marantika.ID	649.5643
97	Jase.Sng	648.3558
98	Ashlee.Liu	616.0008
99	Rudy.Djoe	615.7949
100	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	608.4357
101	Mei.Sheum	597.4424
102	Bryan.de.Rozario	594.4322
103	Alvin.Wong	575.5229
104	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	569.9369
105	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	568.734
106	Daniel.Purnomo	544.5861

107	Armando.Montiel	535.4893
108	Kevin.Bennett.Jr	529.853
109	Wendy.Phua	528.8404
110	Brandon.Wong	526.463
111	Kieran.Walsh	506.2505
112	Shawn.Kelley.TH	501.3276
113	Rani.Singam	496.3412
114	Govin.Tan	496.3311
115	Fabian.Lee	493.8925
116	Mohamed.Noor	493.0014
117	Melissa.Tham	487.4598
118	KK.Ng	481
119	Kachi.Chan	480.1333
120	Ian.Cheah	475
121	Sharik.Hasan.IN	463.8396
122	Timothy.O.Dwyer	457.1873
123	Carlos.Gervasio	453.1317
124	Joanna.Dong	444.3395
125	Tim.de.Cotta	442.9164
126	Glen.Wee	440.0831
127	Mario.Lopez	432.1239
128	James.Flynn.AU	420.8424
129	Eivind.Lodemel	420.3904
130	Jonathan.Lim.Yik.Chin	397.4541
131	Erol.Danon	384.0893
132	Shu.Mei.Yap	382.5798

133	Jeremy.Yeo	380.5228
134	Dilip.Ghosh	379.5722
135	Felix.Phang	377.7348
136	Rizal.Sanip	374.5479
137	Oliver.von.Essen	374.5428
138	Stephen.Francis	367.803
139	Matin.Razlan	363.4338
140	Nathaniel.Ng	361.8825
141	Shawn.Letts	361.6549
142	Rahimah.Rahim	351.4664
143	Darren.Moore	342.7434
144	Ho.Kah.Keh	341.3468
145	Xavier.Lim	327.7334
146	Tim.Stocker	311.1756
147	Robert.Sunga	306.0626
148	Adam.Shah	298.8412
149	Maya.Raisha	298.7429
150	Keith.Ong	288.8063
151	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	286.0043
152	Leon.Hunte	280.5608
153	Ravee.Treesaksesakoon.TH	271.2062
154	Dan.Wong	269.774
155	Cui.Yihao	266.9779
156	Sandra.Riley.Tang	266.5711
157	Eugene.Pao.HK	263.5214

158	Nathan.Hartono	261.8268
159	Chan.Chi.Ling	258.7343
160	Joshua.Wan	252.0816
161	Alexandra.Hsieh	250.3929
162	Gabriel.Lee	249.1213
163	Christina.Zhou	243.3076
164	Aynsley.Green	241.3561
165	Lester.Ang	238.632
166	Fumio.Tamiya	230.9144
167	Yayoi.Murai	226.6221
168	Nathaniel.Gao.CN	225.3967
169	Alan.Barnes.UK	223.3963
170	George.Leong	222.8415
171	Tony.Zee	221.0039
172	Dan.ZBerg	218.0357
173	Chua.Siong.Loo	200.5327
174	Ignatius.Bong	194.5395
175	Miles.Tranter	194.1594
176	Soh.Chang.Ci	193.8072
177	Eriko.Murakami	188.4962
178	Clement.Chow	180.0894
179	Leonora.Lim	175.961
180	Takeshi.Nishimura	173.4383
181	Michael.Isvy	171.0961
182	Rex.Chin	168.011
183	Enya.Lim	166.561

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184	Eugenia.Yip	165.9515
185	Jelene.Luar	146.0648
186	Josiah.Suthan	145.5748
187	Gabriel.Pitts.GMAN	144.0018
188	Victor.Lum	143.4322
189	Benjamin.Low	143.0325
190	Kevin.Lester.LIONCITY BOY	140.1833
191	Corey.Manders	139.116
192	Nick.Hempton.US	137.978
193	Caleb.Koa	133.7127
194	Christian.Larumbe	133.2455
195	Vanessa.Fernandez	132.4871
196	Dominic.Chen	132.0401
197	Ramu.Thiruyanam	126.5734
198	Yong.Kailin	125.7845
199	Nicholas.Lim	125.021
200	Eric.Wyatt.US	122.9594
201	Michelle.Yap	121.8622
202	Shmil.Berniker	120.6165
203	Siti.Nur.Iman	118.8295
204	Andayoma	117.8901
205	Muraledharan.Naidu	117.7026
206	Teriver.Cheung.HK	116.904
207	Christine.Sham	116.7493
208	Ang.Shao.Wen	115.965
209	Moy.Oliveira	110.8036

210	Rob.Collins	110.3237
211	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	109.7762
212	Gabriel.Lim	104.5321
213	Fraser.Porteous	103.5579
214	Skye.Sirena	101.7007
215	Nicolas.Richardson.Waldin	100.7414
216	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	94.98105
217	David.Inamine.US	89.32856
218	Miin.Tong	88.9916
219	Matthew.Tan	86.92549
220	Imelda.Teo	85.5417
221	Jens.Bunge.DE	84.53908
222	Chartsayam.Mark.Kiripart.TH	83.03499
223	Feng.Lee	80.52184
224	Eddie.Wen.MY	79.66973
225	Viktor.Dimitrov	78.72353
226	Joseph.Saleem	77.39821
227	Randy.Brecker.US	76.89111
228	Chia.Zhe.Yin	75.03523
229	Marjorie.Hoang	74.674
230	Jacintha.Abisheganaden	73.8706
231	Keith.Chang	73.18857
232	Dan.Potts	69.46106
233	Kelvin.Ang	69.0415
234	Syakirah.Noble	67.05867
235	Regi.Leo	66.81377

236	Yohei.Kanda	63.16665
237	Bryan.Lim.Zhi.Wei	61.78743
238	Yong.Lun.Liu	59.94688
239	Jonathan.Saiman	59.30412
240	Bings.Lee	57.82307
241	Ada.Rovatti.US	55.84152
242	Bennett.Bay	53.47858
243	Antonia.Bennett.US	53.24134
244	Nesh	52.49597
245	Karst.de.Jong.NL	50.86241
246	Zora.Smith	50.69704
247	Steve.Nanda.MY	50.27296
248	Judy.Tsai	49.19523
249	Benny.Goh	48.98841
250	Chan.Yoong.Han	48.7131
251	ZG	47.99597
252	Christoven.Tan	47.15701
253	LeRain.Lee	44.84651
254	Mark.Yeo	44.499
255	Edward.Tan	44.24888
256	Martin.Tang	42.42197
257	Ethel.Yap	41.71163
258	Benjamin.Kheng	41.70271
259	Vanessa.Rubin.US	41.1781
260	Tanya.Darby.US	40.1781
261	Jeff.Hue	36.77256

262	Mark.Chan	36.48464
263	Genevieve.Seah	35.53522
264	Ryan.Sim	35.39257
265	Erwin.Tan	33.12394
266	Dru.Chen	32.38817
267	Ahmed.Sirour.US	32.23073
268	Michaela.Therese	31.03389
269	Hannes.Hentze	28.35473
270	Regan.Wickman	27.97479
271	Hans.Jonathan.Charis	27.29073
272	Johan.Liedberg	27.26206
273	Fish.Huang.HK	25.20567
274	Rony.Jorge.Martinez	24.96927
275	Tots.Tolentino.PH	24.95798
276	Norman.Seck	24.68739
277	Jenny.Vie	23.97744
278	Jakob.Dinesen.TH	23.51086
279	Klaus	23.33683
280	Angela.Vargas	22.72954
281	Simplicius.Cheong	22.51531
282	Jules.Jumari	22.36716
283	Charlie.Lim	22.27671
284	Wang.Zi.Hao	22.23893
285	Kelvin.Kong	21.64014

286	Gerold.Kleinbongardt	20.68044
287	Evan.Low	20.59521
288	Reggie.Pryor	20.39591
289	Chris.Fernandez	19.66795
290	Mat.Jodrell.AU	19.21848
291	Justin.Baird	18.91076
292	Samuel.Phua	18.32291
293	Kit.Chan	18.02737
294	Mark.John.Hariman.AU	17.91004
295	Christo.Alexander	17.81044
296	Dasha.Logan.MY	17.61082
297	John.Escreet.UK	17.39969
298	Redwan.Hamzah	16.78407
299	Elaine.Wijaya	16.7473
300	Dominic.Chan	16.57894
301	Kelvin.Feng	16.57894
302	QX.Loo	16.57894
303	Tan.Hong.Wee	16.57894
304	Sarah.Cheng.de.Winne	16.19352
305	Wharton.Chan	16.08334
306	Deborah.Davis.US	14.91955
307	Daniela.Ruggieri	14.00871
308	Syawal.Kassim	13.76619
309	Kamal.Bensra	13.67725
310	Nolan.Bradbury	12.6860

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311	Faridah.Ali	12.50087
312	Eric.Lee	12.375
313	Chua.Wei.Chin	12.21905
314	Pierre.Karpov	12.21905
315	James.Andrew	11.87623
316	Daryl.Tay	11.73674
317	Albert.Marsico.IT	11.61435
318	Jacek.Dubiel	11.4503
319	Abby.Papito	11.26508
320	Mike.Niederpruem	11.0628
321	Iza	10.45471
322	Johannes.Felscher.US	10.44723
323	Maya.Nova	10.2907
324	Michael.Pigneguy.AU	9.68859
325	Stella.Wu	9.583134
326	Rosanna.Gaerlan	9.351138
327	Jonathan.Shin	9.34613
328	Hakim.bin.Ramle	9.125296
329	Leonard.Ng	8.982801
330	Sarah.Kei.Lauw	8.736691
331	Er.Chow.Kiat	8.630605
332	Dane.Milea	8.471429
333	Marius.Andrian	8.236691
334	Dominic.Soon	8.093962
335	Sean.Patrick.Rozario	8.037931
336	Goh.Jenn.Woei	7.862868
337	Samantha.de.Lune.MY	7.63073

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338	Mark.Nunis	7.466631
339	Chua.Chia.Hui	7.167073
340	Munir.Alsagoff	7.104528
341	Don.Gomes.AU	6.993426
342	Calvin.Ang	6.963968
343	Bob.James.US	6.878439
344	Fathin.Amira	6.201035
345	Rodrigo.Parejo.ES	6.124504
346	Poova.MY	5.791742
347	Amos.Manasseh	5.742982
348	Ernest.Tay	5.32142
349	Gilbert.Nogales	5.243419
350	Sharon.Nunis	5.156397
351	Izat	4.929028
352	Sara.Wee	4.871869
353	Aisyah.Aziz	4.871869
354	Umar.Sirhan	4.871869
355	Jon.Chua	4.871869
356	Priscilla.Tan	4.599214
357	Dylan.Foster	4.491718
358	Carrie.Yeo	4.371869
359	Diya.Tan	4.371869
360	Narelle.Kheng	4.371869
361	Paddy.Ong	4.371869

362	Trisno.Ishak	4.301224
363	Aldwyn.Tan	4.297773
364	Takeshi.Ohbayashi.JP	4.236173
365	Sinclair.Ang	4.184766
366	Niq.Osman	4.025726
367	John.Koh	3.81098
368	Shannon.Chng	3.546838
369	Pam.Oei	3.54652
370	Jay.Anderson.US	3.50669
371	Laura.Fygi.NL	3.461839
372	Justin.Low	3.37049
373	Tony.Lakatos.DE	3.297304
374	Eugene.Lam	3.287813
375	Wynton.Marsalis.US	2.98669
376	Bani.Rahman	2.942125
377	Joey_Thomson.Jazz	2.671629
378	Martin.Goh	2.242671
379	Reginald.Khoo	1.787813
380	Carlos.Sendros	1.595363
381	Gabriel.de.Leon.MY	1.455723
382	Teresa.Carpio.HK	1.433591
383	Ben.Paterson.US	1.331968
384	Claudia.Montiel	1.25433
385	Jordin.Tan	1.243883
386	Deric.Tay	1.242671
387	Erik.Tan	1.242671
388	Keith.Koe.Meng.Kiang	1.242671

389	Kenneth.Lun	1.242671
390	Muhamad.Yusri	1.242671
391	Yeo.Wee.Aik	1.242671
392	Bang.Wenfu	0.987026
393	Cheryl.Chitty.Tan	0.987026
394	Leon.Yuen.MY	0.955723
395	Ridz.Razali	0.854167
396	Samuel.Cheah	0.817241
397	Rudi.Engel.DE	0.759804
398	Alfonso.Lopez	0.75433
399	Ernesto.Anaya	0.75433
400	Christiane.Michaela	0.743883
401	Jessica.Loo	0.6892
402	Jasmine.Chen.CH	0.68224
403	Adam_Thomson.Jazz	0.671629
404	Amir.Syahir	0.671629
405	Charmaine.Lee	0.671629
406	Christian.Loh	0.671629
407	Cole.Yee	0.671629
408	Jeff.Huang	0.671629
409	Jeremiah.Hutapea.Jerry	0.671629
410	Shaune.Ng	0.671629
411	Subronto.Saaban.Hardjo	0.671629
412	Lance.DuBos	0.432192
413	Pekka.Pylkkanen.FI	0.425364
414	Masashi.Sasaki	0.328645

415	Clarice.Handoko	0.326132
416	Kelvin.Ng	0.322353
417	Issei.Suzuki	0.291667
418	Wayne.Sandz	0.245788
419	ZeeAura.Ang	0.221429
420	Agnes.Lau	0.18224
421	Nick.Zavior	0.18224
422	Tan.Thiam.Hee	0.18224
423	Ywenna.Carollin	0.132576
424	Adi.Rakhmadian	0
425	Akira.Ishii.JP	0
426	Benjamin.Boo	0
427	Benjamin.Lee.MY	0
428	Bob.Mocarsky.US	0
429	Carmen.Bradford.US	0
430	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0
431	Daryl.Chen	0
432	David.Gomes.MY	0
433	David.Lee	0
434	Eduard.Alexander.Aartsen.ID	0
435	Emma.Loh	0
436	Ernesto.Valerio	0
437	Ernie.Watts.US	0
438	Fatt.Kew	0
439	Furukawa.Kazushiro	0
440	Greg.Anderson	0
441	Han.Oh	0
442	Ho.Law.Wei	0
443	Howard.Levy.US	0
444	Indra.Ismail	0
445	Ivan.Ong	0
446	Janelle.Tan	0
447	Jeannette.Trevias	0
448	Jedidiah.Lam	0
449	Jeremy.Ng.Chuan.Kai	0
450	John.Lye	0
451	John.Wong	0
452	Johnny.Gaerlan	0
453	Joshua.Peter	0
454	Julian.Cheong	0

455	Juliana.da.Silva.BR	0
456	Junji.Delfino.MY	0
457	Justin.Ng.Jin.Wen	0
458	Kavita.Shah.US	0
459	Kevin.Guoh	0
460	Krsna.Tan	0
461	Kumaranji	0
462	Lee.Hui.Nee	0
463	Lee.Yong.Tick	0
464	Luciano.Lemus	0
465	Mark.Elton.AU	0
466	Maxim.Yanchenko	0
467	Michael.Veerapen.MY	0
468	MiyataSan	0
469	Nat.Adderley.US	0
470	Navin.Kumar	0
471	Nita.Aartsen.ID	0
472	Pat.King.Koh	0
473	Peter.Autschbach.DE	0
474	Peter.Prem	0
475	Ragha	0
476	Ramona.Irgolic.SI	0
477	Reggie.Perera	0
478	Robert.Fernando	0
479	Robert.Nalin	0
480	Roy.Dragon	0
481	Samira.Saygili.DE	0
482	Sarah.Teh	0
483	Sean.Ghazi.MY	0
484	Shakthiya.Subramaniamm	0
485	Shane.Heng	0
486	Tharman22	0
487	Todd.Stoll.US	0
488	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0
489	Wilson.Ong	0
490	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0
491	Zi.Wei.Lim	0

Strength Centrality (Global Iteration)

No.	ID	Strength Centrality
1	Jeremy.Monteiro	7.063829787
2	Aaron.James.Lee	6.957446809
3	Christy.Smith	6.446808511

4	Ben.Poh	6.234042553
5	Greg.Lyons	5.617021277
6	Sean.Hong.Wei	5.553191489
7	Weixiang.Tan	5.106382979
8	Tama.Goh	4.787234043
9	Alemay.Fernandez	4.787234043
10	Aya.Sekine	3.893617021
11	Rafaee.Mahmood	3.808510638
12	Wen.Ming.Soh	3.744680851
13	Te.Pongthipok.Sootthipong	3.744680851
14	Jordan.Wei	3.638297872
15	Kenji.Nakano	3.446808511
16	Teo.Jia.Rong	3.446808511
17	Andrew.Lim	3.382978723
18	Arthur.Adika.Wiyono	3.340425532
19	Carol.Gomez	3.021276596
20	Cui.Yihao	2.936170213
21	Rit.Xu	2.872340426
22	Nicole.Duffell	2.744680851
23	Fabian.Lee	2.744680851
24	Fabian.Lim	2.659574468
25	Jase.Sng	2.617021277
26	Darryl.Ervin	2.553191489
27	Chok.Kerong	2.553191489
28	Leo.Jeoh	2.382978723
29	Rachma.Lim	2.29787234
30	Nicholas.Lee	2.234042553
31	Teng.Si.Heng	2.170212766
32	Daniel.Chia	2.14893617
33	Bryan.de.Rozario	2.085106383
34	Ting.Wei.Yap	2.085106383
35	Alvin.Wong	2
36	Andy.Chong	2
37	Amery.Harith.Reuben	1.936170213
38	Namie.Rasman	1.936170213
39	Eugene.Chew	1.914893617
40	Audrey.Tengkey	1.893617021
41	Anson.Fung	1.872340426
42	Issei.Suzuki	1.85106383
43	Benny.Goh	1.787234043
44	Sebastian.Ho	1.787234043
45	Rudy.Djoe	1.680851064
46	Euntaek.Kim	1.659574468
47	Shawn.Letts	1.659574468
48	Chua.Siong.Loo	1.638297872

49	Jerome.Chosson	1.638297872
50	Alex.Sipiagin.US	1.638297872
51	Andreas.Marinello	1.595744681
52	Tony.Makarome	1.595744681
53	Melissa.Tham	1.595744681
54	Corey.Manders	1.510638298
55	Joanna.Dong	1.510638298
56	Lou.Peixin.Miss.Lou	1.468085106
57	Aldwyn.Tan	1.446808511
58	David.Lee	1.446808511
59	Lee.Ann.Gie	1.404255319
60	Richard.Jackson	1.382978723
61	Eriko.Murakami	1.382978723
62	Bani.Rahman	1.361702128
63	Regan.Wickman	1.361702128
64	Joe.Lee	1.340425532
65	Timothy.O.Dwyer	1.340425532
66	Joshua.Wan	1.319148936
67	Anne.Weerapass	1.29787234
68	Pablo.Calzado	1.255319149
69	Amos.Manasseh	1.255319149
70	Eugene.Ang	1.255319149
71	Oliver.von.Essen	1.255319149
72	Louis.Soliano	1.234042553
73	Bobby.Singh	1.234042553
74	Anson.Koh	1.212765957
75	Christian.Larumbe	1.191489362
76	Michelle.Yap	1.191489362
77	Hong.Chanutr.Techatanananan.TH	1.191489362
78	Ridz.Razali	1.170212766
79	Erik.Hargrove	1.085106383
80	Dawn.Ho	1.085106383
81	Chia.Zhe.Yin	1.063829787
82	Yohei.Kanda	1.063829787
83	Rick.Smith	1.063829787
84	Eugene.Pao.HK	1.042553191
85	Mario.Lopez	1.042553191
86	Colin.Yong	1.021276596
87	Benson.Kong	1
88	Pisit.Piriyaporn	0.978723404
89	Mario.Serio	0.978723404
90	Titus.Ng	0.978723404
91	Xavier.Lim	0.978723404
92	Eddie.Wen.MY	0.978723404
93	Dawn.Wong	0.957446809

94	David.Loke	0.936170213
95	Kaz.Hiramatsu	0.914893617
96	Alina.Ramirez	0.893617021
97	Michelle.Poh	0.893617021
98	Jasmine.Chen.CH	0.893617021
99	Tan.Thiam.Hee	0.893617021
100	Mei.Sheum	0.872340426
101	Eugenia.Yip	0.872340426
102	Teo.Boon.Chye	0.85106383
103	Regi.Leo	0.829787234
104	Stephen.Francis	0.808510638
105	Matin.Razlan	0.808510638
106	Vignesh.Mohandasan	0.787234043
107	Lisa.Haryono	0.787234043
108	Seow.Yi.Zhe	0.787234043
109	Sarah.Chew	0.765957447
110	Stephen.Rufus	0.765957447
111	Nathaniel.Ng	0.744680851
112	Susan.Harmer.Lauw	0.744680851
113	Adam.Shah	0.723404255
114	Tony.Lakatos.DE	0.723404255
115	Brandon.Wong	0.723404255
116	Khoo.Shen.en	0.723404255
117	Arun.Matt	0.70212766
118	Evan.Low	0.70212766
119	Muhammad.Firdaus	0.70212766
120	Rani.Singam	0.680851064

121	Sinclair.Ang	0.680851064
122	Dan.Wong	0.680851064
123	Dan.ZBerg	0.680851064
124	Jonathan.Lim.Yik.Chin	0.680851064
125	Mark.John.Hariman.AU	0.659574468
126	Keith.Chang	0.659574468
127	Josse.Manuel.Chemaney	0.659574468
128	Charlie.Lim	0.638297872
129	Mohd.Razip.bin.Salleh	0.638297872
130	Masashi.Sasaki	0.638297872
131	Tim.Stocker	0.638297872
132	Yong.Lun.Liu	0.638297872
133	Fumio.Tamiya	0.638297872
134	George.Leong	0.638297872
135	Takeshi.Nishimura	0.638297872
136	Yvette.Atienza	0.617021277
137	Christopher.Yong.Lin	0.595744681
138	Jens.Bunge.DE	0.595744681
139	Duncan.McKee	0.574468085
140	Munir.Alsagoff	0.574468085
141	Eddie.Jansen	0.574468085
142	Agnes.Lau	0.553191489
143	Ang.Shao.Wen	0.553191489
144	Benjamin.Low	0.553191489

145	Dane.Milea	0.553191489
146	Nick.Zavior	0.553191489
147	Yayoi.Murai	0.553191489
148	Mohamed.Noor	0.531914894
149	Pablo.Tani	0.531914894
150	Rizal.Sanip	0.531914894
151	Shawn.Kelley.TH	0.531914894
152	Joel.Dunstan.Chua	0.531914894
153	Mathilda.D.Silva	0.531914894
154	Ho.Law.Wei	0.510638298
155	Jeffrey.Tan	0.510638298
156	Wolfgang.Joe.Izzat	0.510638298
157	Hiroaki.Maekawa	0.510638298
158	Sharik.Hasan.IN	0.510638298
159	Lee.Lin.Chow	0.510638298
160	Chua.Wei.Chin	0.489361702
161	Pierre.Karpov	0.489361702
162	Daniel.Purnomo	0.489361702
163	Daryl.Tay	0.489361702
164	Lance.DuBos	0.489361702
165	Ashlee.Liu	0.489361702
166	Dominic.Soon	0.489361702
167	Eddie.Layman	0.489361702
168	Lily.Anna.Rahmat_Hargrove	0.489361702

169	Cheryl.Ann.Spencer	0.468085106
170	Jenny.Vie	0.468085106
171	Shmil.Berniker	0.468085106
172	Kelvin.Ang	0.468085106
173	Govin.Tan	0.468085106
174	Marques.Young	0.468085106
175	Ramu.Thiruyanam	0.446808511
176	Soh.Chang.Ci	0.446808511
177	Gabriel.Lee	0.446808511
178	Eric.Lee	0.425531915
179	Amanda.Lee	0.425531915
180	Ben.Thia	0.425531915
181	Christina.Zhou	0.425531915
182	Edmund.Wuu	0.425531915
183	Joachim.Theodore.Lim	0.382978723
184	Kevin.Guoh	0.382978723
185	Rudi.Engel.DE	0.382978723
186	Sandra.Riley.Tang	0.382978723
187	Chan.Chi.Ling	0.382978723
188	Beverly.Morata	0.382978723
189	Casey.Subramaniam	0.382978723
190	Felix.Phang	0.382978723
191	Dasha.Logan.MY	0.361702128
192	Joshua.Francis	0.361702128

193	Maxim.Yanchenko	0.361702128
194	Zora.Smith	0.361702128
195	Audrey.Tang	0.361702128
196	LeRain.Lee	0.361702128
197	Victor.Lum	0.361702128
198	Adam_Thomson.Jazz	0.361702128
199	Amir.Syahir	0.361702128
200	Charmaine.Lee	0.361702128
201	Christian.Loh	0.361702128
202	Cole.Yee	0.361702128
203	Goh.Jenn.Woei	0.361702128
204	Jeff.Huang	0.361702128
205	Jeremiah.Hutapea.Jerry	0.361702128
206	Joey_Thomson.Jazz	0.361702128
207	Ryan.Sim	0.361702128
208	Shaune.Ng	0.361702128
209	Subronto.Saaban.Hardjo	0.361702128
210	Alexandra.Hsieh	0.340425532
211	Han.Oh	0.340425532
212	Juliana.da.Silva.BR	0.340425532
213	Wilson.Ong	0.340425532
214	Justin.Baird	0.340425532
215	Matthew.Tan	0.340425532
216	Vanessa.Fernandez	0.340425532

217	Calvin.Ang	0.340425532
218	Deric.Tay	0.340425532
219	Erik.Tan	0.340425532
220	Keith.Koe.Meng.Kiang	0.340425532
221	Kenneth.Lun	0.340425532
222	Martin.Goh	0.340425532
223	Muhamad.Yusri	0.340425532
224	Shannon.Chng	0.340425532
225	Tony.Zee	0.340425532
226	Yeo.Wee.Aik	0.340425532
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234	Caleb.Koa	0.29787234
235	Clement.Chow	0.29787234
236	Jeremy.Yeo	0.29787234
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